Kerala AW 11

- 601, 113, 59, 58, 611, 428

[For information pertaining to the above categories, see 5: Karve AW1 India, category 116, pp. 252-270.]

1: Gough AW11 Kerala AW11

● 601

[This entire source presents a historical and functional interpretation of Nayar kinship structure, and the reader is referred to category 116. Only sections dealing specifically with kinship nomenclature have been marked for category 601.]

101 of the Kora River, comprising the former kingdoms of Kolattiri, Kottayam, Kadattunad and part of Kurumbranad. The central area comprises the modern South Malabar District and Cochin State (the former kingdoms of Calicut, Walluvanad and Cochin), and the southern area, 174 the kingdom of Travancore. In the course of 631 fieldwork it became clear that these overall differences of custom and social structure were connected with major political boundaries in the period of native rule. Though divisible into separate small kingdoms and chiefdoms, the whole of North Malabar District was temporarily overrun by the Kolattiri Rajas in the 16th and 17th centuries. The central area at one period or another was all conquered by the Zamorins and incorporated in the Calicut empire, while the whole southern area eventually became subject to the Travancore Rajas. In each of these three major areas, a somewhat different political system operated, [10] and in accordance with this the higher castes, especially the Nayars, were differently divided into subcastes with separate administrative functions: each of these subcastes in turn had a kinship system influenced by its occupation, relationship to the land, and 601 separate historical tradition. Much confusion 114 has arisen in past discussion of Nayar kinship because of failure to differentiate between the three areas: it was assumed that the Nayars had one kinship system, whereas they in fact had three, with different terminological structures. 121 In this paper I describe the traditional and mod- 101 ern political structures and the Nayar kinship

[68]

592 between the karanavan and the oldest woman.
602 The former carries out all economic transactions outside the group and controls the total income; he also keeps the key of the outer granary in the courtyard. The latter plans cookery, keeps the keys of paddy chests within the house, organized the work of women and presents to the karanavan her requirements for day-to-day expenditures. (8) Particularly when the karanavan is the son or own younger brother of the oldest woman, management runs smoothly and the oldest woman may be de facto head of the group. If she is a younger sister or classificatory sister a more formal division of roles is common.

[601] Under the karanavan, men of the group are ranked by seniority. All those older than ego are sometimes collectively called karanavar and are accorded respect and obedience (within the limits set by overall obedience to the head) all younger, whether they be mother's brothers, younger brothers, maternal nephews or great nephews, may be commanded and disciplined. The social distance between men of a property-group is great, far greater than between father and son, or between brothers, in any patrilineal South Indian group. Indeed, though learning and skills are passed on between them, the relationships between men are, when possible, formalized to the point of avoidance. By traditional etiquette, a man may not touch his karanavan or any maternal uncle; before approaching him he must remove his upper cloth. To speak to the karanavan he stands respectfully half hidden

582 ties, and these were traditionally the common
602 solution in this area. But even in a promiscuous community, it seems likely that the effective relationship between a man and children he believes to be his cannot always be altogether overridden and may assert itself in face of matrilineal ties. When this happens some other solution to the conflict is required. Cross cousin marriage, particularly matrilateral, (14) is one such partial solution, since it harmonizes for two members and for two generations of a lineage conjugal interests which would otherwise be opposed.

601 (4) Kinship Terms

As might be expected, the traditional Nayar terminology of this area includes terms only for matrilineal kin, their spouse, and the children of ego's wife. Today, terms are sometimes used to address cognates, but they are very seldom used in reference; descriptive terms like "my father's nephew" and my mother's father" are used instead. Contrary to the view of Murdock and Emeneau, (15) the Nayars of this area do not have a bifurcate merging system with Iroquois cousin terms: indeed none of the matrilineal groups of Kerala (North Malabar Nayars, Tiyyars and Muslims, South Malabar and Cochin Nayars, or Travancore Iravas and Nayars) have such a system, which in this region is confined to the patrilineal and double unilineal castes below Nayars.

Within the lineage, men of the first and second ascending generations are equated as "male

601 mothers" (ammaman), occasionally with prefixes "big" or "small" in the first ascending, according to age in relation to mother, and occasionally with prefixes "big oldest" and"small oldest" in the second [84] ascending, according to age in relation to grandmother. This equating of first and second generation males accords with the disciplinary powers of all older males, headed by the karanavan. Correspondingly, sister's children and sister's daughter's children are all marumakan (m.) or marumakal (f.). In ego's generation (m. and f. sp.) older brothers are addressed and referred to as jyeshtan (coll. etan); younger brothers are referred to as anujan. All men older than ego in the lineage may be referred to as karanavar (seniors); all younger as anandravar (juniors). These usages accord with the great importance of age-rank between men. For both sexes, all senior kin are addressed by terms, all juniors by name.

Women of the second ascending generation are called muthasshi ("oldest woman") with prefixes "big" or "small" according to age in relation to grandmother. In the first ascending, similarly, mother - amma, and other women are "big" or "small" mothers. In ego's generation older sisters are jyeshtathi (m. and f. sp.), younger
601 sisters anujathi (m. and f. sp.). In addition,
593 there are special cross-sex reference terms for "male sibling" (f. sp., age unspecified) - angala, and "female sibling" (m. sp., age unspecified) -pengal. These bring out the importance for Nayars of the complementary brother-sister tie,

601 [593] on which the unity of the sibling group and the collateral cohesion of the lineage is based.

Among female affines, the wives of men of the second and first ascending generations are ammayi (fem. of ammaman). Today, great respect is shown to these women, but they are also proverbially disliked since it is expected that they will try to obtain favours from the maternal uncles and draw away their allegiance from the Similar attitudes are shown to the EBW who has the respectful term jyeshtathi amma - "elder-sister-mother" or respected elder sister". [85] Only descriptive terms are used for the spouses of younger brothers and maternal nephews.

Among male affines, the father and step-father are called by the respectful term acchan (lit. -"lord"). Higher caste fathers are also called by their caste titles (e.g. "acchan Nambudiri"). The mother's father is muthacchan (oldest "lord"). The term acchan, like jyeshtan, anujan, jyeshtathi, anujathi, bharya=wife and barthavu=husband, are all Sanskrit terms,evidently at some time taken over from Nambudiris. The old Tamil word appan=father was reserved for the mother's tali-tier and is seldom heard today among Nayars, though it is the usual word for "father" among Nambudiris themselves and in the lower castes. Acchan was also a lineage-title accorded to some desavaris and military leaders in the traditional period; it has the connotation of high rank and political office rather than of begetting, and seems particularly appropriate for the Nayar practice of hypergamy and the fact that their lineages tended, at least in

601 part, to be (literally) "fathered" by their feudal lords. All current lovers of the mother were traditionally called acchan, and the word is sometimes extended as an address-term to husbands of the mother's sisters (with age-prefixes) though these are usually referred to descriptively. In ego's generation, women have no reference-terms for the sisters' husbands: the older sister's husband is called jyeshtan or etan - "elder brother"; the younger sister's husband by his name and caste-title if older than ego, by name alone if younger. A man addresses his sister's husbands in the same way, but brothers-in-law also have a reciprocal reference-term, aliyan, which, like the cross-sex sibling terms, is usually restricted to men married into the property-group and not to the lineage as a whole. Its existence as a special term again points up the unique tie between brother and sister and the fact that brother and (traditionally visiting) [86] husband are brought into a special relationship through their claims on the same woman. Their etiquette, in contrast to that between lineage men, is one of easy familiarity, though covert jealousy between them is often intense.

Women address lineage kinsfolk older than themselves as do men. Their children they call makan (m.) and makal (f.), their daughters' children, irrespective of sex perakutti="name-child". This is appropriate for the daughter's daughter who is often called after a woman, but less so for the grandson who is usually named after some male forbear of his property-group, living or dead. These terms for descending

601 generations are extended throughout the lineage. Today men also use the same term for their own and step-children and own and step-grandchildren but do not extend them to other descendants of the wife's lineage or to the brothers' descendants. The words makan and makal are so regularly used by men today both for their own and step-children and in descriptive compound terms (e.g. "my uncle's son" - ende ammamande makan) that I think they were even traditionally used by men for children of their mistresses. Nambudiris, however, should properly use the terms only for their own or their elder brother's Nambudiri children.

Today in the modern bilateral kinship system which is gradually coming about, terms formerly restricted to matrilineal kin are sometimes used to address the father's matrilineal kin, though this usage is not yet standardized. Such terms now reflect the equivalence (rather than the opposition) of the sexes in marriage and of their groups, as would be expected in a bilateral system. Those in fairly current use are FF (=MF), FM (=MM), FMB (=MMB), FMBW (=MMBW, FB (=MB), FBW (=MBW), and FSi (=MSi). Cross cousins and paternal parallel cousins [87] have no reference-terms, but if older are addressed as siblings. A woman addresses her husband's kin by the same terms as the husband, unless she has married her maternal uncle's son, when she still calls her parents-in-law "MB" and "MBW". Both sexes however refer to their spouses' kin by descriptive compound terms, except for "brother-in-law"

601 (m, sp.). Except in a few "modern" marriages men do not address the wife's kin by terms, but instead use the name and caste title: many informants said they would not use terms for the wife's kinsfolk because they did not feel that they were kin - a traditional attitude. The main modern change therefore is the extension of primarily matrilineal terms to parallel kin of the father's matrilineal terms to parallel kin of the father's matrilineal group and their spouses. As it stands today, the terminological system thus faithfully reflects an extreme matrilineal system which has recently shifted towards bilaterality. [88]

613 VI. The Structure of the Royal Lineages

644 We saw that the traditional property-group of
423 retainer Nayars divided into segments when male members of the mother's generation were all dead, and that correspondingly the lineages of retainer Nayars went through a gradual process of fission between their major segments every
[427] few generations. This state of affairs was in harmony with the relatively temporary relationship of retainer Nayars to the land, as kanam tenants, since kanam tenure permitted segments of a tarayas to hive off at intervals with ease.

This was not the case with the property-groups of royal and naduvari lineages, which were held together for longer periods by their joint ownership of extensive jenmam lands and by their political offices. These royal and chiefly taravads in most cases developed a somewhat different structure which enabled them to cohere for

613 they had been reborn as Kshattriyas, and to
644 shake off their marital ties with feudatory lin-
631 eages and marry their women only to Nambu-
565 diris. The same process went on in other parts of Kerala; it is even whispered by some in North Malabar that the Kadattunad lineage started out as a high class Nayar taravad with the title of Adiodi and, through outstanding military services and marriage alliances with Kolattiri, gradually established itself first as naduvaris and later as an independent royal lineage.

613 The size and cohesion of a kingdom thus de-
644 pended not on kinship factors but on political
631 and economic factors such [99] as trade, eco-
601 nomic specialization and the development of specialized political institutions. When their kingdoms and private estates became large, the kinship systems of the royal lineages adapted themselves to this change: they modified their residence-patterns, practised exclusively hypergamous marriage, and developed the institution of athanams. It is arguable that had their economy and political institutions developed still further before the British came, they would have been obliged to change their kinship system still more, for the unwieldy structure of matrilineal lineages, with segments periodically hiving off and claiming themselves independent, certainly made it difficult to establish a stable

613 system of succession to the crown. The history
644 of the Cochin lineage, which had two athanams
631 and in the fifteenth century partitioned into five property-groups, was from 1510 to 1792 one of perpetual dissension between the heads of .

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dependence of India in 1947. Cochin and Travancore were amalgamated in 1949 and, under popular pressure for the formation of linguistic states, the whole area was reunited as the State of Kerala in 1956. This state elected a Communist government in 1957.

After 1498 there were certain changes in Kerala's economy. Trade and towns expanded, gunpowder was introduced and wars became more devastating, and cash transactions became more prevalent among the aristocratic castes in villages (K. M. Panikkar, 1929: chap. XIV). But the basic form of the caste system and the pyramidal system of kingdoms, subordinate chiefdoms, and villages persisted with little change until after the Mysorean conquest. The Calicut kingdom gradually declined after 1498, for the Portuguese allied themselves with the small kingdom of Cochin to the south, freed it from Calicut's overlordship, and used it as a base from which to expel the Arabs and subdue the Zamorins. Nevertheless, with fluctuating boundaries Calicut remained the most powerful kingdom until the 1730's.

Although its internal political boundaries have shifted continually, Kerala is today still divisible into three major cultural areas. These are distinguished by differences in the names and numbers of the castes who occupy them, in dress, dietetic habits and ritual practices, and in the kinship systems of the several Hindu castes. The northern area, north of the Kora River, comprises the former kingdoms of Nileswaram, Kolattunad, Kottayam, and Kadattunad. This was the area dominated by the Kolattiri kings in the fourteenth century and at various periods thereafter. In British times it became the northern part of Malabar District and the southern part of South Canara District; I shall call it North Kerala. The central area comprises the former kingdoms of Calicut, Walluvanad, Palghat, and Cochin. It was overrun by the Zamorins of Calicut at various times between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. In British times it formed South Malabar District and Cochin State; I shall refer to it as Central Kerala. All the southern area (until recently, Travancore State) was at one time or another subordinate to the kings of Travancore. The political systems—and consequently the internal caste divisions of the Nayars and the forms of their kinship systems—differed in these three areas. Much confusion has arisen in the past because of failure to distinguish between the three regions. It has been assumed that the Nayars had one kinship system, whereas in fact they had three, with different terminological structures. In this paper I describe Nayar kinship in two kingdoms of Central Kerala: Calicut and Cochin.

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exponents. Marriages at all levels between the religious and secular hierarchies pointed up this interdependence.

Among the Nayars hypergamy must also have cemented lord-vassal relationships. Older Nayars still take pride in the fact that their lineages have for centuries been fathered by chiefs, royals, and Brahmans. Traditionally, it was for the sake of this generalized filial bond that they were prepared to die in battle and, paradoxically, to deny themselves paternal rights in their own children.

Matrilineal Units of the Nayar Retainer Castes

THE CLAN

The clan was the largest matrilineal unit to which a Nayar commoner belonged. Its members believed themselves descended from a common ancestress, but her name was not normally remembered and the exact genealogical relationships between a clan's subordinate segments were often unknown. Occasionally, all of a clan's known members lived within a single Nayar neighborhood (*tara*). In this case the clan was co-terminous with the next lower order of matrilineal unit, which I call the lineage. More commonly, the clan had a nucleus of members within the neighborhood from which it originally sprang, together with outlying segments whose forebears had moved to other neighborhoods of the chiefdom. Clan affiliations among Nayar retainers do not seem to have extended beyond the chiefdom.

The clan was called a *taravād*, the word also used for the lineage and the matrilineal household unit. "Taravād" is derived from "tara," meaning "mound,"[6] in this case the raised foundation on which a Nayar house was built. Its members derived a sense of unity from the belief that their matrilineal forebears sprang from the same ancestral house, and if the site of this house still existed they retained a sentimental attachment to it. The word "taravād" (befitting for a settled agricultural people) was in fact equivalent to the English "house" in its sense both of ancestry and of place. The clan was usually called by the name of its original ancestral house site.

The clan was exogamous and sex relations within it were forbidden. Those of its members who lived near and met often used kinship terms to address each other. If a death or birth occurred, clan members had to be informed by messenger. Upon receipt of the informa-

[6] Any kind of raised foundation of earth or laterite is called a tara. Tara (meaning "neighborhood") is derived from the large platform of earth round a sacred "milk"-exuding tree (*alstonia scholaris*) located near the Nayar neighborhood temple of Bhagavadi. The neighborhood assembly congregated on this mound.

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the lineage they were legally mandatory. The local caste assembly, with the backing of royal or chiefly authority, could take action against offenders. Intra-lineage incest was indeed a crime punishable by death. As a matter of courtesy, lineage members extended appropriate kinship terms to one another.

Unless it was declining in numbers and had shrunk to the proportions of a single household, the lineage was not an economic unit. Its members did not jointly own an estate and did not coöperate in the production or distribution of goods. These functions accrued to the small segment of a lineage occupying a single homestead, which I call a property group. Lineage kin *were* the residual heirs of a property group which died out. However, such reversion of property was rare. A property group which had no childbearing women usually adopted one or more girls from some other branch of the lineage in order to perpetuate itself.

A "commoner" lineage had no headman. Its oldest man commanded special respect but he had no legal authority over the lineage as a whole. The office of headman of the lineage existed only in village headmen's, chiefly, and royal lineages. Here the political office was theoretically vested in the eldest man of the lineage, irrespective of branch. These lineages had a somewhat different structure, discussed below.

The members of a lineage engaged in coöperative activities at two major life crises: the pre-puberty marriage rite of girls, and the funeral of a member, followed by offerings to the departed spirit on the fifteenth and sixteenth days after the death.

Both of these occasions involved the caste assembly of the neighborhood and the institution of linked lineages or *enangar*. The caste assembly comprised the eldest men (*kāranavar*) of all the property groups. It met periodically on a mound (tara) near the Bhagavadi temple of the neighborhood to manage the temple's affairs. It also judged offenses against the religious laws of the caste.

Each lineage was linked by hereditary ties of ceremonial coöperation to two or three other lineages of the neighborhood. These linkages were reciprocal but not exclusive. For example, lineage A might have as enangar B, C, and D, whereas B might have A, E, and F, and so on. A chain of such relationships therefore linked all lineages of the neighborhood.

The enangar were partners who offered help in a ceremonial manner at all major life crises. They stood as formal links between the lineage and the total neighborhood group, which was called the *enangu*. In

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WOMAN-SISTER'S CHILDREN

A woman and her sister's children should behave toward each other so far as possible in the same way as a woman and her own children. A motherless child was brought up collectively by his mother's sisters, usually attaching himself in particular to one of her younger sisters. As a member of their household who stood in a maternal relationship to them, a woman expected reverence, companionship, and practical help from her sisters' sons and a measure of obedience, companionship, and coöperation in domestic tasks from her sisters' daughters.

Terminologically and behaviorally, the mother's sisters were differentiated by age in relation to the mother. The mother's older sister received more respect than the mother, especially if she was the oldest woman in the household. Her role approximated that of the maternal grandmother after the latter's death. The mother's elder sister usually had children of her own by the time ego was born. She tended to advise ego's mother on how to care for him rather than tending him intimately herself. The mother's younger sister's role, by contrast, approximated that of a much older sister. Before she had children of her own, she often played the part of a long-suffering nursemaid and usually remained a favorite throughout her life. A mother's younger sister who was younger than ego was called by her personal name and treated as a younger sister.

Theoretically, attitudes proper toward the mother should be extended to all women of her generation within the lineage and clan. Actually, a rather sharp distinction was drawn between "mothers" of ego's own property group and those outside it. Behavior which was axiomatic within the property group became a matter of polite etiquette toward more distant kinswomen. Within the property group two or more sibling groups descended from sisters might oppose each other in adulthood. When the maternal grandmother and all males of senior generations were dead, their disputes might culminate in division of the property even while their mothers were living. Such inter-segmental disputes created strains in the relationship with the mother's sisters, but these ought not to become apparent in open quarreling.

WOMAN-DAUGHTER'S CHILDREN

A woman had strong control over her daughter's children. Her authority surpassed that of the mother and she retained the last word in matters of feeding or of care in sickness. At a time when her daughters were absorbed in childbearing and in relations with their husbands, she was deeply concerned for the future of her taravād as a group and

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If he wished, a girl's ritual bridegroom might later visit her as one of a series of husbands, but he had no prior claims and was not obliged to do so. The woman in turn owed no obligations to him except that at his death, she and all her children by whatever biological fathers must observe fifteen days of ritual pollution for him. Ritual pollution was otherwise observed only for matrilineal kin. Until modern times it was not observed by a woman and her children for a visiting husband who was not also the woman's ritual husband. In addition, if they knew him, a woman's children called her ritual husband by the Dravidian word *appan*, the term used for the father in the patrilineal castes. Their mother's visiting husbands they called by the Sanskrit term *acchan;* this word means "leader" or "lord" and was also sometimes applied as a title to village headmen and military leaders.

After the tāli rite and shortly before or after puberty, a woman might enter into a number of sexual relationships with men of her local caste group or of an appropriate higher caste. Similarly, a Nayar might visit a number of wives of his own or an appropriate lower Nayar caste. Among retainer Nayars, by far the majority of unions were between persons of the same caste. A very few favored women had husbands from the lineages of temple servants, village headmen, chiefs, or royalty, or from houses of Nambudiri Brahmans of relatively low rank. A smaller number of Nayar retainers had wives in the lower-ranking castes of Nayar temple menials, but not in the servant castes of Nayar washermen and barbers, which were endogamous.

It is not certain how many husbands a woman might have at one time; various writers [8] of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries mention between three and twelve (Logan, 1951, I: 136–137). Others add that women "never refused themselves" to occasional Brahman or Nayar visitors of appropriate rank. It seems probable that each woman had a small number of husbands from her local caste group who, while their relationship lasted, visited her regularly, but that women also received occasional fleeting visits from itinerant Nayars of appropriate rank, perhaps mainly during military operations.

[8] See, for example, Abdu 'r Razzak (1441), Nicolo di Conti (1444), Hieronimo de Santo Stephano (1563), and Cesar Fredericke (1563), in Hakluyt Society Publications Vol. 22, 1857; Duarte Barbosa (1518) and Joao de Barros (early sixteenth century) in Dames, 1921, II: 124, 241; Ludovico di Varthema (1503–1508), tr. J. W. Jones, 1863; 146; Zein-ud-Deen (1579), tr. Rowlandson, 1833: 63; J. H. van Linschoten (1596) in Hakluyt Society Publications Vol. 71: 279; Pietro della Valle (1624), Hakluyt Society Publications Vol. 85: 579; Hamilton (1727), ed. Penzer, 1930, I: 310; Buchanan, 1807, II: 411.

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595 monial recognition through the performance of death pollution, but that was strictly all.

842 Nayars did, however, understand and attach significance to the physiological role of the male in procreation. They expected a child [829] to resemble his genitor and to be unusually intelligent if his father were a Brahman or a Nayar aristocrat. A man is said to have been 593 especially fond of a child whom he knew with reasonable certainty to be his own. He would make small gifts to him, play with him on visits, and offer him friendly counsel as he grew older. However, a man had no right to interfere in any way in his child's training, and [586] the child had no customary obligations to him. If he ended his relationship with the mother he had no further contact with the child.

Children addressed all their mothers' husbands as acchan, adding [601] the caste title in the case of a father of higher caste. Both boys and [564] girls stood in the father's presence and accorded him respect, but without the extreme submissiveness due to an older matrilineal kinsman. In spite of the Malayāli adage "No Nayar knows his father," it seems probable that almost every Nayar regarded some particular man as his genitor; but his relationship with this man might be anything from a permanent, warm attachment to almost total lack of recognition. Certainly differences of paternity created no institutionalized divisions within a sibling group.

602 No rights or obligations existed between an individual and his patrilateral kin. These relationships, when they existed, were a matter of individual friendliness or of polite etiquette. A person might visit his or her father's taravād as long as the father's marriage to the mother endured, especially if the father lived close by. How- [595] ever, although marriage has been monogamous for the past seventy to eighty years, I found in one Cochin village in 1949 that only 48 per cent of sibling groups containing children under fifteen had any contact with their father's matrilineal kin. In the other cases patrilateral relationships were suspended because the father lived at a distance, because he had divorced the mother, or because his kinswomen had quarreled with the mother.

[601] In what follows, the term "father" refers to any husband of the mother in the sambandham relationship, and the term "patrilateral kin," to the matrilineal kin of such a man.

Patrilateral kin of the father's generation or older were accorded [605] friendly respect. Cross cousins of the same sex and caste had a familiar, mildly joking relationship if they maintained contact with one another. If their families remained friendly, cross cousins of

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between men as well as preventing incestuous relations between the sexes.

Kinship Terms

As might be expected, kinship terms were used only between matrilineal kin and between ego and the spouses of members of his lineage. The terms were as follows.

A. MATRILINEAL KIN (extended throughout the lineage)

(1) *Mūttassi* ("Oldest woman"). M. and F. speaking. Woman of the second ascending generation, primarily MoMo. May be prefaced by *valiya* ("big") or *cheriya* ("small") for women respectively older or younger than MoMo.

(2) *Ammāman* ("Male mother"). M. and F. speaking. Men of first and second ascending generations, primarily mother's own brother. May be prefaced by valiya or cheriya for men of first ascending generation respectively older or younger than Mo. May be prefaced by *mūtta* ("oldest") for men of second ascending generation.

(3) *Amma*. M. and F. speaking. Women of first ascending generation, primarily own mother. Prefaced by valiya or cheriya for women respectively older or younger than Mo.

(4) *Jyēshtan*. M. and F. speaking. Men of own generation older than ego, primarily own elder brother. Sometimes corrupted to *ēttan*.

(5) *Anujan*. M. and F. speaking. Men of own generation younger than ego, primarily own younger brother. Reference only.

(6) *Jyēshtatti*. M. and F. speaking. Women of own generation older than ego, primarily own elder sister. May be corrupted to *eratti* (South Malabar) or *chēchi* (Cochin).

(7) *Anujatti*. M. and F. speaking. Women of own generation younger than ego, primarily own younger sister. Reference only.

(8) *Angala*. F. speaking. Own brother by same mother. Reference only.

(9) *Pengal*. M. speaking. Own sister by same mother. Reference only.

(10) *Marumakan*. M. speaking. Male of first or second descending generations, primarily own sister's son. Reference only.

(11) *Marumakal*. M. speaking. Female of first or second descending generation, primarily own sister's daughter. Reference only.

(12) *Makan*. F. speaking. Male of first descending generation, primarily own son. Reference only.

(13) *Makal*. F. speaking. Female of first descending generation, primarily own daughter. Reference only.

(14) *Pērakutti* ("Name child"). F. speaking. Male or female child

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of second descending generation, primarily own daughter's child. Reference only.

(15) *Kāranavar* (singular, *kāranavan*). M. and F. speaking. All males of the lineage older than ego, living or dead. Primarily, the eldest living man of ego's property group. Reference only.

(16) *Anandravar* (singular, *anandravan*). M. speaking. All males of the lineage younger than ego. Primarily, junior males of ego's property group. Reference only.

Comment: Older relatives are addressed by terms; younger, by name.

The overriding of generations which appears in terms 2, 10, and 11 is suitable because the men under 2 are not in the direct line of ascent and their authoritative roles are similar. Terms 15 and 16 further emphasize the age rank of lineage males regardless of segment or generation.

The separation of terms 1 and 3 may be related to the fact that women are in a direct line of descent. Moreover, 1's role is more authoritative than that of 3.

The existence of special terms 8 and 9 points up the interdependence of own brother and sister on which the unity of the sibling group and the cohesion of the property group are based.

The merging of lineals and collaterals within each generation points up the lack of institutional segregation of one woman and her children.

B. AFFINES AND NON-MATRILINEAL COGNATES

(1) *Bhārya.* M. speaking. Wi in the sambandham relationship. Reference only.

(2) *Bartāvu.* F. speaking. Hu in the sambandham relationship. Reference only.

(3) *Sambandhakkar.* M. and F. speaking. Collective. Husbands of women of ego's lineage, primarily of ego's property group. Reference only.

(4) *Mūttacchan* ("Oldest father"). M. and F. speaking. Hu of Al.

(5) *Acchan.* M. and F. speaking. Hu of A3, especially of own mother. May be prefaced by valiya or cheriya according to age of the man's wife in relation to ego's mother. Followed by the caste title (e.g., Nambudiri) if he is of higher caste.

(6) *Ammāyi.* M. and F. speaking. Wife of A2.

(7) *Aliyan.* M. speaking. Reciprocal between a man and his wife's lineage kinsmen of her generation, primarily within her property group. Reference only.

(8) *Jyēshtatti Amma.* Wife of A4. M. and F. speaking. Sometimes

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corrupted to *chēdatti amma* (Cochin) or *eratti amma* (S. Malabar).

(9) *Chētan.* M. and F. speaking, reference; M. speaking only, address. A particular shortened form of *jyēshtan* (ElBr), reserved for the husband of A6.

(10) *Makan.* M. speaking. Son of ego's wife. Reference only.

(11) *Makal.* M. speaking. Daughter of ego's wife. Reference only.

(12) *Pērakutti.* M. speaking. Child of ego's wife's daughter. Reference only. Not always used.

(13) *Appan.* M. and F. speaking. Ritual husband (*tāli* tier) of ego's mother.

(14) *Manavalan.* F. speaking. Ritual husband. Reference only.

All other affines and cognates were referred to by descriptive compound terms (e.g., *ende acchande marumakan*, "my father's nephew"; *ende anujande bhārya*, "my younger brother's wife"). Persons of 8 and 9 were also often referred to by descriptive compound terms.

A man might *address* his wife's matrilineal kin older than himself by the same terms as she did but he was not obliged to do so. He might also address them by their names and caste titles. They addressed him by his personal name, adding the caste title if he were of higher caste.

A man addressed his wife's younger matrilineal kinsmen by name. Because of the avoidance relationship he and his wife's younger sisters used no terms or names to address each other.

If she knew them and was of the same caste as they were, a woman addressed her husband's older matrilineal relatives by the same terms as he did. She addressed by name those younger than herself. She called her husband's younger sister who was older than herself *jyēshtatti*, (elder sister). Because of the avoidance relationship no terms or names were used between a woman and her husband's brothers who were older than she.

In hypergamous marriages a woman and her husband's natal kin used no terms to address each other.

An individual used no terms, but only names, to address his father's matrilineal kin.

Comment: In general, the restricted use of reference terms for affines and the lack of terms for patrilateral kin other than the father reflect the slenderness of the marriage tie and the lack of obligations to these kin.

Affinal terms were mainly restricted to the spouses of ego's older matrilineal kin, persons with whom he had fairly regular contact. Even these, however, might be *referred* to by descriptive compound

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terms. When one of these terms applies to more than one relative the equation issues simply from the equation of the matrilineal kin who are their spouses.

There was a lack of terms for affines younger than ego because unless sex difference caused ego to avoid them completely, the principle of age rank made it possible to address them by name. Descriptive compound terms were adequate to refer to them.

However, the existence of the special reciprocal reference term between brothers-in-law points up the uniqueness of the brother-sister tie and the fact that a woman's brothers and her husband were brought into a specially close relationship by virtue of their claims upon the woman who linked them.

The use of B3 as a collective term reflects the fact that, as sex partners and fathers, these men had a common interest in ego's matrilineal group and it in them.

MODERN CHANGES

Since about 1890, as I have described elsewhere (Gough, 1952), Nayar marriage has become monogamous and men have assumed rights in and obligations to their children. The matrilineage is gradually disintegrating and the elementary family is gradually emerging as the key group in a system of bilateral, interpersonal kinship ties.

As a result of these changes, terms formerly restricted to matrilateral kin are today sometimes used to address corresponding patrilateral kin, although this usage is not yet standardized. The most common equations are MoMo = FaMo, MoMoBr = FaMoBr, MoFa = FaFa, MoBr = FaBr, MoSi = FaSi, MoBrWi = FaBrWi, and MoSiHu = FaSiHu. Cross cousins and paternal parallel cousins still have no reference terms but if older are addressed as siblings. No other regular changes are observable for kin of ego's or ascending generations, and no regular changes have occurred in terms for descending generations.

As the system now stands, therefore, ego's matrilineal kin of the same sex are still merged within each generation, but the transferences to patrilateral kin have created a mixture between "lineal" and "generation" systems in the sense of Murdock and earlier writers, as far as the own and ascending generations are concerned (Murdock, 1949: 149). A "generation" classification is used for both sexes of ego's generation, with all cousins equated with siblings. A "generation" classification is also used for women of the first ascending generation, if we discount the age prefixes used to differentiate older and younger sisters of the parents. If we classify the age prefixes as constituting sep-

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arate terms, we have a "lineal" classification for the women of this generation. Men of the first ascending generation are classified in a "lineal" manner, with FaBr = MoBr, both separated from Fa. Female affines of the first ascending generation are "lineal," with FaBrWi = MoBrWi, both separated from Mo. Male affines of the first ascending generation are "generational," with Fa = MoSiHu = FaSiHu. The terms faithfully reflect an extreme matrilineal system which is in process of breaking down in favor of bilateral kindreds.

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The wives of her elder matrilineal kinsmen figured prominently in the life-crisis rites of a girl, performing the ritual acts done by enangar women in Central Kerala.

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Because of residence patterns men had less contact than did women with the property groups of their spouses. They must be invited to all ceremonies and had ritual duties in those connected with their own children. As sambandhakkar of a property group, the husbands of its female members were usually consulted formally by its kāranavan before he undertook important matters such as building houses or dividing property. He was not, however, obliged to follow their advice.

Kinship Terms

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A. MATRILINEAL KIN

The pattern of terms was the same as in Central Kerala. Lexically, the only difference was that MoMo and her sisters (A1) were called *acchamma* (literally, "father's mother"), a term extended to them from FaMo. This usage probably resulted from the fact that a child normally recognized FaMo earlier than MoMo and had more contact with her.

B. AFFINES AND NON-MATRILINEAL COGNATES

In North Kerala, as might be expected, there were customary kinship terms for the patrilateral kin. The terms for affines and non-matrilineal cognates were as follows.

(1) *Bhārya*. M. speaking. Wi. Reference only.

(2) *Bartāvu*. F. speaking. Hu. Reference only.

(3) *Sambandhakkar*. M. and F. speaking. Collective. Husbands of women of ego's lineage, primarily of ego's property group. Reference only.

(4) *Acchappan* ("Father's father"). M. and F. speaking. FaFa and FaFaBr. FaFaSiHu, FaMoBr, FaMoSiHu. MoFa and MoFaBr. MoFaSiHu, MoMoSiHu.

(5) *Acchamma* ("Father's mother"). FaMo and FaMoSi. FaFaBrWi, FaFaSi and FaMoBrWi. MoFaSi, MoMo, MoMoSi, MoFaBrWi.

(6) *Amma* ("Mother"). M. and F. speaking. Extended from Mo and MoSi to FaSi and FaBrWi. FaSi is called *valiya* ("big") mother or *elaya* ("younger") mother according to her age in relation to the father. FaBrWi is so designated according to FaBr's age in relation to Fa.

(7) *Acchan*. M. and F. speaking. Fa, mother's current husband,

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601 184 FaBr, FaSiHu, MoSiHu. The last three are designated "older" or "younger" in the same manner as above.

(8) *Ammâyi.* M. and F. speaking. Wi of any male of first or second ascending generations within ego's lineage, especially within his property group.

(9) *Aliyan.* M. speaking. Reciprocal between a man and Wi's lineage kinsmen of her generation, primarily within her property group. Reference only.

(10) *Jyështatti amma.* M. and F. speaking. Wi of older male of ego's generation within his lineage, primarily within his property group.

(11) *Machunian.* M. and F. speaking. Male cross cousin, i.e., male of ego's father's lineage in ego's generation, or So of ego's own, or classificatory MoBr within his lineage. Extended to male cross cousins of either parent.

(12) *Machunichi.* M. and F. speaking. The female equivalent of B11.

(13) *Makan.* M. speaking. WiSo. Reference only.

(14) *Makal.* M. speaking. WiDa. Reference only.

(15) *Përakutti.* M. and F. speaking. Reciprocal of B4 and B5. Used primarily of own grandchild through either So or Da. Reference only.

[602] A man or woman used the same terms to address the spouse's natal kin as the own natal kin except in case of an avoidance relationship.

[605] An individual *addressed* all cross-cousins in the same manner as siblings, reserving terms B11 and B12 for reference. He addressed and referred to paternal parallel cousins as siblings.

[564] Kinship terms were used in relationships with affines or cognates of higher or lower matrilineal caste but not in relationships with Nambudiri Brahman relatives.

601 602 *Comment:* Males and females of the second ascending generation were equated with grandparents, except for the maternal great-uncle and his wife. This fits the fact that relationships with the maternal great-uncle and his wife were distant and authoritative while those with other kin of this generation were non-authoritative and informal. Similarly, in the first ascending generation the mother's brother and his wife are singled out as distant and authoritative figures. All others of this generation are classed with the parents as non-authoritative figures.

The existence of Iroquois cousin terms for reference fits the special joking relationship and preferential marriage between cross cousins as contrasted with the prohibition of marriage between parallel cousins of both sides.

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royal lineage. The retainer sub-castes disputed for rank and, in their separate villages, held the same rights of administration over the lower castes. In all these sub-castes, including the royal lineage, men were trained from the age of seven as soldiers in village gymnasia headed by military leaders (Asāns), and formed a permanent, mobile militia of the kingdom. Below the retainer sub-castes in rank came the small, non-military Nayar servant sub-castes of oil-mongers, funeral-priests, washermen, and barbers.[1] Quite apart from these Brahman and Nayar sub-castes, in a separate area of the village lived the lower patrilineal castes of tenants and menials and the lowest, 'exterior' castes of serfs.

The Nayar Kinship System. The Nayar lineage (*tarawād*) is exogamous and matrilineal kinship terms are extended throughout its range. Its members are united by the observance of fifteen days' ritual pollution at a birth or death, and traditionally by worship of the spirits of dead heads of the lineage, and of a group of totemic snakes. The lineage is divided into small segments, which I call property-groups, each three to five generations deep. Each group is headed by its eldest man (*kāranavan*) who is the legal guardian of its members and controls their property.

The property-group was also until recently the dwelling-group. Residence was, and is still in some houses, uxorilocal: a husband visits his wife after supper and leaves before breakfast. Traditionally, a woman might have any number of lovers of appropriate sub-caste, and a man any number of mistresses. This custom of combined polyandrous and polygynous unions, besides being consistent with a strong matrilineal lineage system, was almost certainly associated with the occupation of Nayar men as soldiers, since it began to die out shortly after the armies were disbanded, about 1810, and a hundred years before the lineage showed signs of disintegration.

The rules of mating were as follows. Sex relations were prohibited within the lineage, and with more than one man or one woman of the same lineage. The Nayar servant sub-castes of oil-mongers, funeral-priests, washermen, and barbers were endogamous, as were all the lower patrilineal castes and the serf-castes. Within the range of military and ruling sub-castes (except for the royal lineages which admitted no peers), all unions were permissible outside the lineage and the range of prohibited affines, and within the sub-caste. Furthermore, these sub-castes were knit together by 'hypergamous' unions between women of lower and men of higher sub-caste. Members of the three retainer sub-castes, which disputed for rank, had only temporary and sporadic sex-relations across sub-caste boundaries. These took place during war when soldiers were permitted to contravene the normal rules against dining with or touching members of other retainer sub-castes and might enter each others' houses in order to eat and sleep. More permanent relationships were encouraged between women of the retainer sub-castes and Kiriyattil, Sāmantan, royal, or Nambūdiri men; between Kiriyattil women and Sāmantan, royal, or Nambūdiri men; between Sāmantan women and royal or Nambūdiri men; and between royal women and Nambūdiri men. The royal lineages, acknowledging no others as peers, were obliged to marry all their women upwards and all their men downwards. The Walluvanād and Cochin princesses married Nambūdiri men, the princes Sāmantan, Kiriyattil, or retainer-women. The Zamorins at first married only some of their women to Nambūdiris, and the rest to men of the more ancient royal lineages of Beypore, Bettem, and Kodungalur, all of whom had been conquered by the Zamorins and made honoured vassals in their kingdom. At some time in the 18th century, the Zamorin's lineage gave up this practice and began to marry its women only to Nambūdiris, while continuing to marry its men to Sāmantan, Kiriyattil, and retainer-Nayar women.

[1] Respectively called Vettukads, Attikurrsis (Chidigans in Cochin), Veluthedans, and Vilakkatalavans. The small temple-servant castes who rank between Nambūdiris and Nayars and were also concerned in hypergamous marriages are for lack of space excluded from this discussion.

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564 582 421 Among Nambûdiris only the eldest son of the patrilineal family might take one or more wives from his caste and beget children for his family. Younger sons might form liaisons only with Nayar women, their children being Nayar by matrilineal descent. Nambûdiri younger sons, like unmarried Nambûdiri women (of whom there were many), had rights to maintenance from the ancestral estate but might not divide the property. These customs ensured the stability of the Nambûdiri estate by preventing it from increasing in numbers and splitting into segments.

595 [833] [431] [843] [851] [431] In all the matrilineal castes the husband, whether alone or of a group, had none but sexual rights in his wife and few economic obligations. Sex-relations were called *sambandham* ('joining together'), and were initiated without religious rites. On his first visit the lover customarily presented the woman with a loin-cloth before her matrilineal kin. He might also place a sovereign under the pillow before leaving next morning, but neither gift was obligatory. When a woman became pregnant, she must name one or more men of appropriate sub-caste as possible fathers: this vindicated her from the charge of cohabitation with a low-caste man. The men named must jointly meet the expenses of her delivery; their payment of this sum to the barber-midwife was a public acknowledgment that the child had been licitly begotten by a man of correct sub-caste. In addition, her lovers provided a woman with bathing-oil, clothing, and ceremonial gifts of vegetables at the three main festivals of the year. These payments were a sign of their continued association with her. Beyond this, a lover had no obligations to his mistress; either of them might stop cohabitation at will.

595 85 601 564 [613] With polyandrous unions, the physiological fatherhood of a child was often unknown. Even when known, the father had no rights in nor obligations to his children. All the current lovers of the mother were called *achan* (father) but kinship terms were not extended to their lineage-kin. Though he might play with his children, the father might not dispute their *kāranavan*'s authority. In hypergamous unions, the higher caste father might not eat in the house of his mistress, and, after taking a bath in the morning, might not touch her nor her children.

613 588 [881] *The Nayar* Tāli-*Rite.* Though the first *sambandham* of a girl began without ceremony shortly before or after puberty, she must before puberty go through the *tālikettukalyānam.* This was collectively conducted by the lineage every ten to twelve years for all its immature girls. If a girl matured before the rite was performed, she must theoretically be cast out by her lineage and banished from her village. In fact, my informants said that in this event, the first menstruation (normally marked by public rites) would be kept secret by the lineage until after the *tāli*-rite could be performed.

The central rite of this ceremony was, as in the ordinary marriage of Tamil patrilineal castes and of the Nambûdiris, the tying of a gold ornament (*tāli*) strung on a thread of white silk, round the neck of the girl by a ritual bridegroom (*manavalan*).

613 621 564 In the retainer sub-castes the Nayar lineages of a village, or in some cases of a group of villages, formed a local sub-caste group (*tara*). Each lineage was linked by ties of ritual co-operation to two or more other lineages of the group. These linked lineages were called *enangar. Enangar* relations were reciprocal but not exclusive, so that in a group of eight lineages, lineage A might be *enangar* to B, C, D, and F; B to A, E, and F; C to A, H, and G; E to B, H, and G; F only to A and B; and H to E, D, and C. A chain of *enangar* relationships thus indirectly linked all lineages of the local sub-caste group. *Enangar* lineages must send representatives to ceremonies of the linked lineage, e.g. the termination of birth and death pollutions and the first menstruation of a girl. *Enangar* must also take note of breaches of caste law by members of their linked lineages and report such culprits for trial by the *tara* assembly. [692] 613 They were thus the formal links between a lineage and its assembly: they represented the local sub-caste group (called the *enangu*) to the individual lineages. In ceremonies, they played

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addition to maintaining his wife he is expected but not strictly obliged to maintain his children till puberty, though both wife and children may claim maintenance from their lineage as well. Paternal kin are known and accorded kinship terms within a range of three to five generations. Marriage is prohibited between the children of brothers. The *enangar* relationship formerly existed between lineages of the same local group: individual *enangar* represented the group to the lineage at funerals and kept watch over its observance of caste laws. In most rites, however, patrilateral kin and affines filled the the roles filled by *enangar* in South Malabar.

The post-puberty *sambandham* is initiated with ceremonies and feasting, the central rite being the handing of a loin-cloth by the man to the woman in the presence of his age-mates and her kin. After consummation in the bride's house, the couple go to the husband's house where they are ceremonially received by elders. Children must be born in the mother's ancestral house, but paternal kin assert their claims in rites shortly after the birth. Physiological paternity is, of course, seldom in doubt, and sibling-groups refer to themselves proudly as 'the children of such-and-such' [their father's] lineage', for whose members they commonly exhibit greater affection, though less loyalty, than they do for matrilineal kinsmen.

The Nayar Tāli-*Rite*. Though the North Malabar *sambandham* was a 'real' marriage, the pre-puberty *tāli* rite was conducted as in the south. Unfortunately, I lack details of this rite either from the literature or from informants. Among Nambiars of Kottayam the ceremonies lasted four days and were conducted in a marriage shed, the areca-palm corner-post and the branch of the milk-tree being planted ceremonially as in the south. A temple-servant woman drew a chalk pattern to represent Bhagavadi and made offerings of rice, paddy, and coconuts before it. Before the *tāli* was tied on the first day, men of the temple drummers' caste of Marars,[1] who here rank below Nayars and at their funerals direct offerings to the spirit, placed gold bangles on the upper arms of the 'brides' and addressed them for the first time as *amma* ('mother', or 'married lady'). After the rite, the Marars received the bangles as payment. At a sign from the astrologer, a Nambūdiri Brahman tied the *tāli* for each girl. The couples were secluded for three days and the 'marriage' ended with a ceremonial bath on the fourth day. Unless (as was rare in this area) the Nambūdiri wished to visit the girl as her regular husband after puberty, he might not cohabit with her again. The *tāli*-tier was not called *appan* by the children, nor was he regarded as their ritual father. Children even traditionally observed death pollution not for this ritual bridegroom of the mother but for the *genitor*, at whose funeral rites they played a part only second in importance to the deceased's younger brothers and sisters' children. Informants did not think that the 'bride' observed pollution for her *tāli*-tier's death; she did, however, traditionally observe pollution for her *sambandham* husband unless divorced before his death.

In Samantan Nambiar *nāduvari* lineages, as among Nambiars, the *tāli* was tied by a Nambūdiri. *Sambandham* unions sometimes took place between *nāduvari* lineages of equal rank; more commonly, as in the south, *nāduvari* men married Nambiar women and Samantan Nambiar women married royal or Nambūdiri men. In the ancient Kshattriya lineages of Kottayam and Kurumbranad the *tāli* was tied by a Nambūdiri, and women of these lineages later had Nambūdiris as husbands, the princes marrying 'down' with women of chiefly or village headmen's lineages. The Kolattiri lineage, which is less ancient and not acknowledged to be 'truly' Kshattriya, is said to have been a branch of the Travancore royal lineage which moved its site long ago. Kolattiri women had the *tāli* tied by men of a caste called Koil Tamburans, ancient Kshattriya families of Travancore who had been conquered by the Travancore Maharajas, and some of whom were brought to North Malabar by the Kolattiri

[1] In South Malabar Marars are a temple-servant caste of drummers ranking slightly above Nayars. Nayar funeral rites are conducted by the lower Nayar sub-caste of Attikurissi (Chidigans in Cochin). In North Malabar, Marars rank below Nayars, and conduct Nayar funeral rites, there being no separate subcaste of funeral priests in the north.

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613 must be unrelated: if a man married an *enangar* woman, the *enangar* bond was broken and each lineage must find new, unrelated *enangar*. *Enangar* must be present to witness marriages, [769] to help at funerals, and to represent their lineage's ancestral spirits in the ceremonial food-offerings to spirits on the sixteenth day after, or the anniversary of, a death. The prohibition [765] on marriages between *enangar* acts as an insurance that the *enangar* should not be prejudiced by ties of matrilaterial or affinal kinship in their task of bringing to justice members of the linked lineage who offended against caste law. Among Nayars, this was less likely to happen because patrilateral ties were less strong than are matrilaterial ties among Tiyyars.

614 Cutting across their lineage-grouping, the Tiyyars had dispersed, exogamous matri-
613 lineal clans, comparable with the clans of the north. My informants knew nothing about these
582 clans except that they were once exogamous. They are not so today, since some people do not remember their clan-names. Though the clans have died out, marriage is prohibited between known matrilineal kin.

595 The Tiyyars of this area had fraternal polyandry. In this they must be distinguished
585 from the Nayars, since the Tiyyars banned non-fraternal polyandry, while the Nayars of Malabar and Cochin forbade the marriage of one woman to two men of the same lineage, not to mention the same sibling-group. Tiyyar fraternal polyandry died out about twenty years ago. To carry out this marriage, the horoscopes of the girl and the eldest potential husband were compared and the amount of the dowry of jewels and vessels fixed. The bride-grooms went to the girl's house with their kin and *enangar*. Their mother's brother handed clothing for the bride, together with the *kānam* sum as in Norther Malabar, to the mother's [533] brother of the bride. A learned man sang a marriage formula to the effect that the girl of such a lineage was here given to the men of such a lineage, with caste-men and the sacred lamp as witness. He adjured the bridegroom's party to punish her reasonably when necessary, but to 'Keep her well, but if you are displeased with her, bring her back to us even if she has ten children, and we shall have her back, after settling the accounts in the presence of the third man [the go-between in marriage arrangements] and the *enangan*.' The bride was seated in the marriage hall at the end of a row beside her bridegrooms. The bridegroom's mother and other kinsfolk, and finally their *enangan* and his wife, fed the grooms and then the bride with porridge and with coconut-milk.

[606] The marriage was consummated shortly afterwards in the bride's house, where each husband in order of age went to live with her for one or two weeks. At the end of the honey-moon period she was brought permanently to the husband's house, where she became her mother-in-law's subordinate. The husbands cohabited with her for equal periods in turn by the arrangement of their mother. Even a child might be married to the common wife by the
595 milk-tie, and when he grew up claim conjugal rights in his much older wife. If the family were
[601] large and the wife weak in health, a second and even a third woman might, at least in modern times, be married by all the brothers and shared as their common wife. Children called all the
[428] fathers *appan*, prefacing distinguishing terms. Sons had equal rights of inheritance. The system mitigated against division of property, but, at least in modern times, if the family became large, brothers might, on the death of their fathers, divide the property and the children and each take one of the wives to live with him in middle life.

586 Divorce is permitted: a divorced wife returns to her brother's house, whence she may in theory be remarried. To effect a divorce, the eldest husband traditionally took a piece of thread from his loin-cloth, burnt it in two, and blew the two pieces away, saying to the brother of the girl, 'Here is your sister's *ächāram*.' *Achāram* commonly means 'custom', and Aiyappan (1944, p. 184), interprets the phrase, 'Hereby the "thread-tie" [formed by presenting a loin-cloth to the wife at marriage] is snapped, and with it my customary rights over this woman as her husband terminate.' The earnest money was returned to the husband's kin in the

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588 On the day fixed the couple dressed in cloths given by the girl's father, and the girl was led into the hall by her mother's brother and seated on the plank. The boy was carried in on the shoulders of his mother's brother, borne thrice round and seated to the right of her, her own mother's brother's wife sitting on her left. The girl's father three times asked the astrologer if the auspicious moment had come, after which the bridegroom tied the *tāli*. Aiyappan states that the boy placed the *tāli* round the girl's neck, where it was tied behind by her mother or her father's sister. Iyer reports that in Cochin, the boy stood behind the girl and tied it himself. The couple were given a sweet drink as at a normal marriage. The girl was then secluded for three days with the new loin-cloth which the boy had worn kept always beside her. On the fourth morning, the couple bathed together and were taken to worship at the temple. In South Malabar, though not in Cochin, the loin-cloth was then taken from the girl's room and cut in two, as at the divorce in a Nayar rite. The bridegroom then took a thread of it and, as at a normal divorce, snapped it saying to the girl's brother, 'Here is your sister's *ächāram*.' He departed taking the two pieces of cloth and a few rupees paid by the girl's family. As among Nayars, a whole *taravād* might hold the ceremonies for all its immature girls, separate bridegrooms then being required for each.

184 588 [589] This ceremony, more clearly than the North Malabar Tiyyar one, is a mock-marriage of the girl to a vicarious husband. It would be less appropriate for the mother's brother's wife or the father's sister to tie the *tāli* in this group, since cross-cousin marriage, though preferential, is not enjoined to the extent which it is in the north. Even so, the mother's brother's wife, perhaps as potential mother-in-law, performs preliminary rites. On the face of things, however, it seems extraordinary that in this group where the marriage bond is strong, father-hood known within a group of brothers, inheritance patrilineal, and the wife at least partly incorporated into the lineage of her husband, such a rite should be performed at all. It is significant that the Tiyyar *tāli*-tier does not take over the role of ritual father to the woman's children by her later husbands, nor does he in any sense remain a husband to the woman. Unless she is married to him after puberty, neither the girl nor her children observe pollution for his death nor use kinship terms for him. This difference between South Malabar Tiyyars and Nayars befits the difference between Nayar matriliny with its denial of the social aspect of physiological paternity, and the Tiyyar patrilineal lineage system with its emphasis on the legitimacy of children. But why did the Tiyyars perform the rite at all? Since they themselves have no answer to this question, except that it was part of ancient custom, we are driven to look for an explanation in terms of unconscious motivations.

Part V. Interpretation of the *Tāli*-Rite

184 588 831 The ceremonies vary in detail but have certain features in common (see Chart I). The rite must in all cases be performed before puberty, and is always a symbolic defloration. This is most clear in the royal lineages, where the bridegroom actually deflowers the girl. Among South Malabar Nayars, the aggressive approach of the bridegroom's party suggests a sexual attack, as does the action of the bridegroom who places his sword across his lap before tying the *tāli* on the bride. When, on the fourth morning, the bridegrooms force open the shut doors of the girls' lineage house, it is clear that they are, as strangers, making an aggressive entry into the *taravād*, i.e. symbolically deflowering its women.

In all the ceremonies other ritual acts make it clear that the rite is a symbolic defloration. The lit wick, arrow, sword, coconut tree, staff, sun, sky, peacock-feathers, the corner-post of the marriage-shed and the bamboo rod stuck in a coconut are readily recognized as phallic symbols recurrent in South Indian ritual; while paddy, rice, coconut inflorescence, rouge-bottle, bell-metal mirror (worshipped in temples as symbol of Bhagavadi), mud pot of water,

8:Panikkar I-4, 5 (no date) 1918 AWll Kerala AWll Nayar

When the family becomes unwieldy, or certain members show insubordination, the family property is partitioned equally among *each female line*. That is to say, if there are three sisters in the family, each having daughters and granddaughters, the partition is done in such a way that each of the ancestresses founds a separate family among whom the original property is equally divided. It is best explained by a diagram :—

[Capital letters stand for women.]

In this case, supposing A, B and C dead, and the eldest male member *d*, being *Karnavan*, the male members, *t*, *k* and others demand partition. The joint property will be divided equally into three parts, each of the groups, in spite of their numerical difference, getting equal shares. Now, in the first group, there are two subdivisions to be made, while, in the third group, the property has to be further divided into three. Group 2 has only one female line, and, therefore, in that line, the property remains intact.

The partition of property does not affect the relationship. The members of a divided family are still called by the classificatory names, and a birth or death in one family creates pollution to the whole stock. Centuries might pass, but they would still remain strictly exogamous groups, and the rights of relationship (such as pollution, etc.) would continue, though in a lesser degree. There are many instances in which, though family partition took place at least a hundred and fifty years ago, the members continue to call each other brothers and sisters, as if they were the nearest blood relations.

It may be noticed in this connection that a Nāyar young man or woman is not supposed to talk to any relations of the opposite sex in the same family *if they are of almost the same age*. A younger brother can talk to a sister considerably older than himself; but under no conditions may he talk to a younger one, and in orthodox families this restriction is carried so far that if it is known that a brother is standing somewhere near, the sister scrupulously avoids him. It is the custom that after the *Talikettu kalyanam* the brother (own and collateral alike) is not supposed to see, talk to, or be in the same room with his sister. This involves considerable inconvenience, for, if the mother is dead and there is no one of *her generation* living, a man loses all touch with the family, because his sisters and women of that generation may not speak to him, and he may not go near them. In such cases, it is customary

8:Panikkar I-4, 5 (no date) 1918 AWll Kerala AWll Nayar

613 604 586 593

why a man's affection for his own son is neither so intense nor so permanent as his affection for his sister's son.

Also, in matrilineal communities family tradition descends only through the sister's progeny. As the Nāyars formed a fighting aristocracy before the British conquest, they had naturally acquired family tradition, mottoes and arms, which descend of right only in the female line. Hence also a man looks to the training of his sister's sons to keep up his family tradition. All these contribute to an extraordinary, and at first sight inexplicable, tenderness towards the children of one's sister.

613 611 604

Relationship.[1]—Among the Nāyars the classificatory system of relationship is prevalent. When the ties of the family extend not only to one's immediate relations but to all who trace descent from the same ancestress in the female line, it is but natural that the terms of close relationship are used to all who belong to the family. As a matter of fact, the distinction between own brothers and collateral brothers does not exist. All the persons of your own generation older than you are called brothers, and equal respect is shown to them. They are called by such terms as big brother, small brother, etc., *only when they are older than you.* Those who are younger are always called by their names.

601 (613)

All women of your mother's generation are called mothers; those older than your mother are called *Peramma* or *Valiamma*, which means nominal mother or bigger mother, and those younger are called *Kochamma*, little mothers. But unlike among brothers, the distinction between one's mother and other females of the same generation is always maintained. Though respect is paid to all of them alike, own mother is always spoken of as mother, without qualification, and she alone has complete right to command you. Mother's own sisters are also different from those who are only collateral cousins to her. Mother's own brother and all of his generation are called *Ammava* (literally mother's brother). Here also the distinction between own *Ammavas* and collateral *ammavas* was very slight in Nāyar society till nearly thirty years ago. Now, however, one looks more on one's own *Ammava* as different from others, which is obviously due to the influence of the authority of direct relationship inculcated through the new system of education.[2]

The mother-in-law has no special name. This is, of course, due to the universal prevalence of first cross-cousin marriage. The mother-in-law is generally addressed

606 601

[1] Spencer and Gillen (*Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 56) try to prove that the classificatory terminology to express relationship shows the existence in some earlier time of group marriages. Perhaps it does so when such relationship terms are in use in a patrilineal community. On the other hand, in a matrilineal community such terms have nothing to do with the system of marriage, but only with relationship counted on the mother's side. (114)

[2] Note specially: though all the women of the mother's generation stand in equal relationship, it is only the actual parent that is entitled to be called mother without any qualification to it. All the others are spoken of in comparative terms, as big mother, *i.e.*, elder mother, small mother, *i.e.*, younger mother.

8:Panikkar I-4, 5 (no date) 1918 AWll Kerala AWll Nayar

606 as *Ammari Amma*, the first word being the same as the wife of the mother's brother,
601 and the second an honorific addition to it. Dr. Rivers, in *Kinship and Social*
601 *Organisation*, as well as in *Melanesian Society*, has conclusively shown that wherever
606 first-cousin marriage prevails, there the mother-in-law has no special name. His
114 explanation that this is due to the obvious fact that, in most cases, the mother's brother's wife is the same person as the mother-in-law, and that the former position was antecedent to the latter, is fully borne out by the terminology among the Nāyars.

601 Another relation of importance in the Nāyar family life is the father's sister.
604 She has a special name and has a very special function to perform. In Middle Travancore she is called *Appachi*. Her importance varies according to the status of the father's family. If the father's family is one of greater importance than one's own, then the father's sister is a person to be consulted on various matters with regard to the child. In any case she should be the first to visit the new-born child. This is called "*Kannom Kalcha*." In the marriage ceremony also she has a prominent place.

613 *Enangar*.—The whole of Nāyar family life used to be based, though this has
621 decayed of late, on the close relationship with one or more other families, spoken of as *Enangar* or Allies. A *Tharawad* with its *Enangars* formed a *social group* rarely marrying outside its fold and generally arranging all festivities and ceremonies between themselves. Neither funeral rites, nor marriage ceremony, nor even any one of the hundred other minor things which go to make up the ordinary life of a Nāyar family, can take place without the co-operation, or at least the presence, of
[564] a member from the *Enangar* or allied families. The *Enangar* families are always
[264] of the same sub-caste, with a right to eat with you and enter any part of your house.

613 The *Enangar* system is evidently a kinship organisation, forming an inter-
621 marrying class. The question of its origin is a very difficult one. The prevalent
582 opinion is that it originated in the days when Nāyars fought and farmed in alternate
178 months, when a kinship organisation of some sort was very necessary for safety and success. This organisation has become very lax of late, though it cannot in any way be said to be dying out.

582 *Marriage Restrictions*.—The marriage restrictions prevalent among the Nāyars have nothing much peculiar from the rest of the Hindu society. The bride must always be younger than the man, and must in strict orthodoxy belong to the same generation as his. He may not marry his mother's sister's daughter, who is to him as his own sister. All his sisters, own and collateral, together with ladies of a previous generation in his family, form a legal incestuous group. A man has, therefore, to marry either entirely out of the circle of his relations, or from among his *cross-cousins*.

Cross-cousin marriage[1] is the orthodox custom. Your maternal uncle's

[191] [1] By cross-cousins I mean children of brother and sister. The relationship is expressed by the word *Machuna*, which is, it should be noticed, the same as in the Toda language. Among

10:Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll
Nayar

[Marayil Tarwad]

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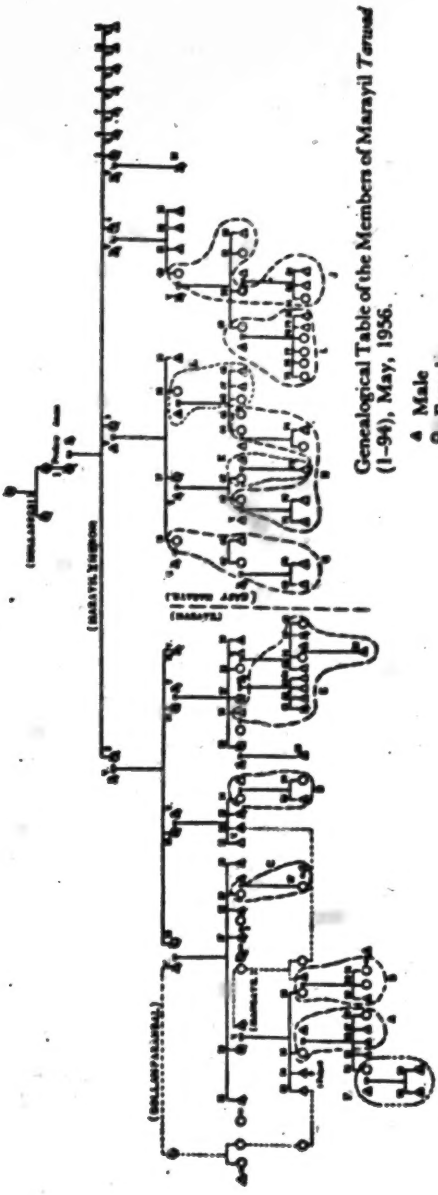

Genealogical Table of the Members of Marayil *Tarwad* (1–94), May, 1956.

△ Male
○ Female
●, ■ Dead
△', ▲ Husbands who practised a visiting marriage
▲ Husband who established his own household with his wife and children
◯ Independent household; households of F, K and L are not in Ernakulam.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWII Kerala AWII
Thandans

community. It was confirmed that this name, meaning "headman", is really a title (like so many others in Kerala – Nayar, Panikkar, Kurup, Menon, etc.) by which the Tiyas of south Malabar are known. He also answered questions about *tarawad* and *kiriyam*, marriage rites and cross-cousin preference, the prevalence of polyandry in the community and the changing times, points which have all been accounted for in the first part of this chapter.

On the second day, I made out the family's genealogy, which is given in the accompanying Table 3. A few words of comment are no doubt needed here. I had three informants in all, since two others were added, later, to the first. I have marked them as Nos. 1, 2, and 3. The generation to which the first informant belonged had originally consisted of nine children, from Kunji, the eldest, to Narayana, the youngest. Their *tarawad* was patrilineal and exogamous, as was also their matrilineal *kiriyam* in principle, but the rules of the latter were not observed very much any more beyond their immediate acquaintances. Kunji, now sixty two, was married at twenty; Kali, married when she was sixteen, divorced a year later and lived with her brothers; she was now sixty. All five brothers, when they were young, had been married polyandrously to Devaki, the eldest, Mayadi, now deceased, being sixteen at the time. Nani and Raman were issued from that marriage, and the young Raman and his family lived here, with his elder namesake in the same house. Devaki died when she was twenty nine, and the brothers were then all remarried, again polyandrously by their parents, to Kuniyama. Mayadi, then aged thirty, died the following year, and Raman senior became the *karanavan*.

Sankara then suddenly said that he was displeased with the common wife. He expressed a desire to break away, and asked his father and maternal uncle to find him another wife. There was considerable opposition to begin with, but, eventually, they gave in, and Kodamah was found for Sankara, who, however, did not move out and put up another household, but stayed in the family mansion with Raman. The latter retained Kuniyama as his wife and had four children by her – Krishna, Janeki, Kerthiyani, and Madivi. Sankara and Kodamah, now forty five and thirty five respectively, had one daughter, Devaki, whom they married off three years ago when she was sixteen.

The breaking away of their elder brother, Sankara, seems to have given Panju and Narayana ideas of liberty as well. Kuniyama was apparently not a very popular common spouse, or else Raman monopolized her too much – it was difficult to find out which, for all that I

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala AW11
Thandans
Tiyas

could get Panju to say at first was that she "did not look after us enough". However, when I insisted, I heard that she did not satisfy them sexually, which again might be either that Ramon got the lion's share of the marriage or that the two younger men did not find their elder brother's wife very attractive. Anyhow, they asked their maternal uncle (their father had died in the meantime) to find them another wife. After a show of resistance in which he said that it was not right and that they should remain with Kuniyama as tradition dictated, their mother's brother again gave in and got Nani for them; they married her when they were twenty and fifteen respectively. They were now forty and thirty five, and their common wife was thirty five. They had put up a separate household, to leave Raman and Sankara in the main building, and theirs was the smaller house on the other side of the yard, wholly within the same compound, however, so that the *tarawad* property was not completely torn asunder.

The land upon which the family lived was theirs, and not rented. After the death of their father, their mother inherited it, and when she died, it was divided up between the sons. Mayadi was also gone, but Raman junior, his son, and the four surviving brothers, Raman senior, Sankara, Panju and Narayana, each received one fifth of the whole. There was a meeting in the big house, they told me, about a year after the death of their mother (they presumably inherited the property undivided until then), and it took them three days to come to an agreement. Influential neighbours, the elders of the *tarawad* and the two brothers-in-law, Kunyadi and Maniken, also attended. The whole property, paddy fields, cattle, grain and seeds, agricultural tools, implements, the house and the household requisites and furniture, was evaluated in money and divided into five equal shares. Panju and Narayana did not split their shares; they kept the two fifths they received undivided, as they constituted a polyandrous household. The women did not inherit anything because they had been married off to others. Women among the Thandans can inherit from their parents, I heard, if there are no male heirs.

On the 27th of October 1949, I visited a Tiya (Thiyya) polyandrous family at Kadevelur in Tallapilli taluk of north Cochin. These people were *kanam* tenants of a Nambudri Brahmin, to whom they paid thirty rupees a year in rent, plus eight hundred measures of rice per crop.[1]

[1] I was told eight hundred *parahs*, but this is hardly possible as: 1 Cochin *parah* = 10 *edangalis* = 40 *nalis* = 1,720 *tolas*; as 42½ Cochin *tolas* = 1 lb., 1 Cochin *parah* = c. 40½ lbs. Eight hundred *parahs* would then = 40½ × 800 = 32,400 lbs. The measure may have been a smaller one, an *edangali* or even a *nali*.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 A W11 Kerala A W11
Thandans

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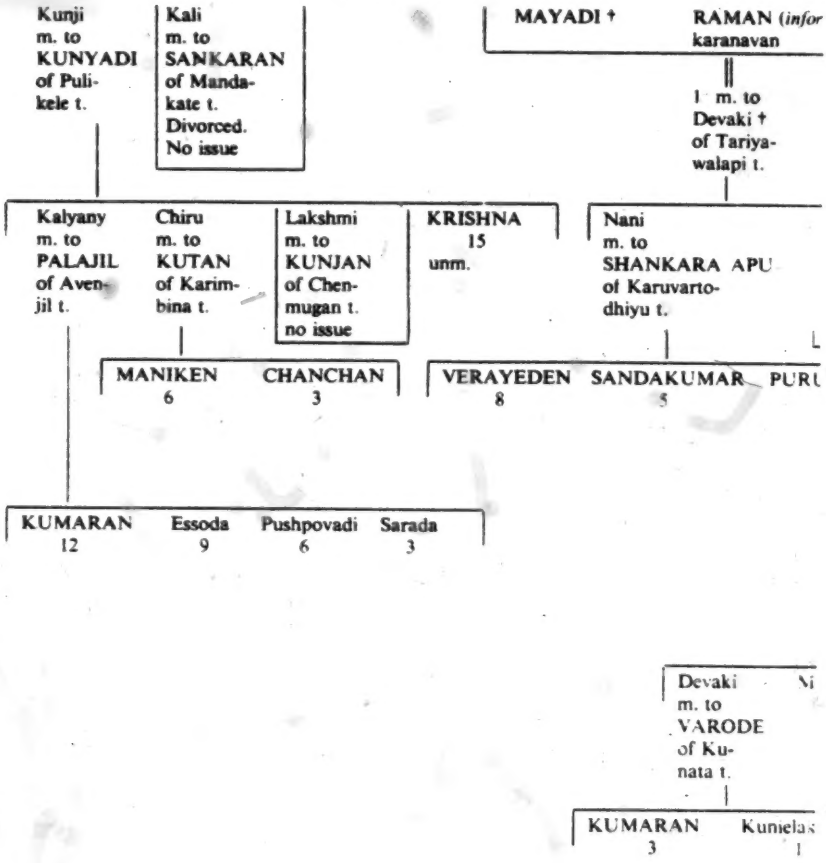
TABLE 3. GENEALOGY OF APPAYL *Tarawad*. APPAYL WATTAKKEH I



[1] Sankara and his family live in the same house as Raman.

[2] Panju and Narayana with their common wife live in a smaller house in the same compoun

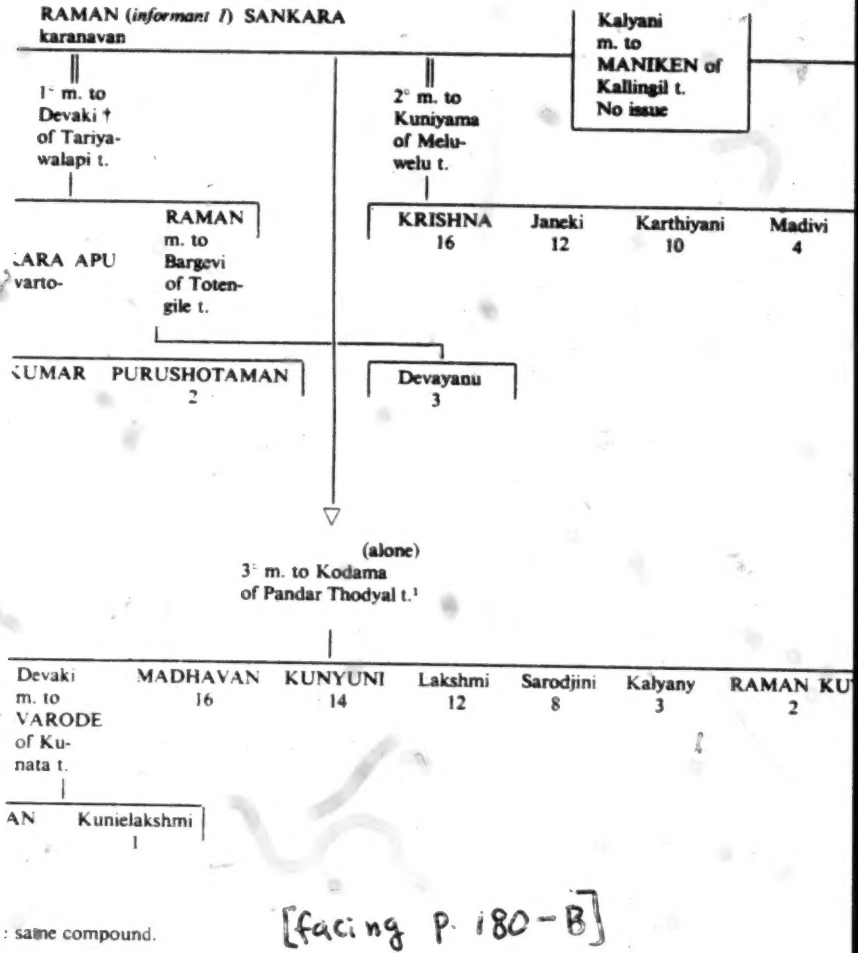
Capital letters denote males.
Small characters are women
† = dead
m. = married
t. = *tarawad*
The age of small children or unmarried ones is shown below their names.

[facing P. 180-A]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWII Kerala AWII
Thandans

*595
601

ATTAKKEH HOUSEHOLD.

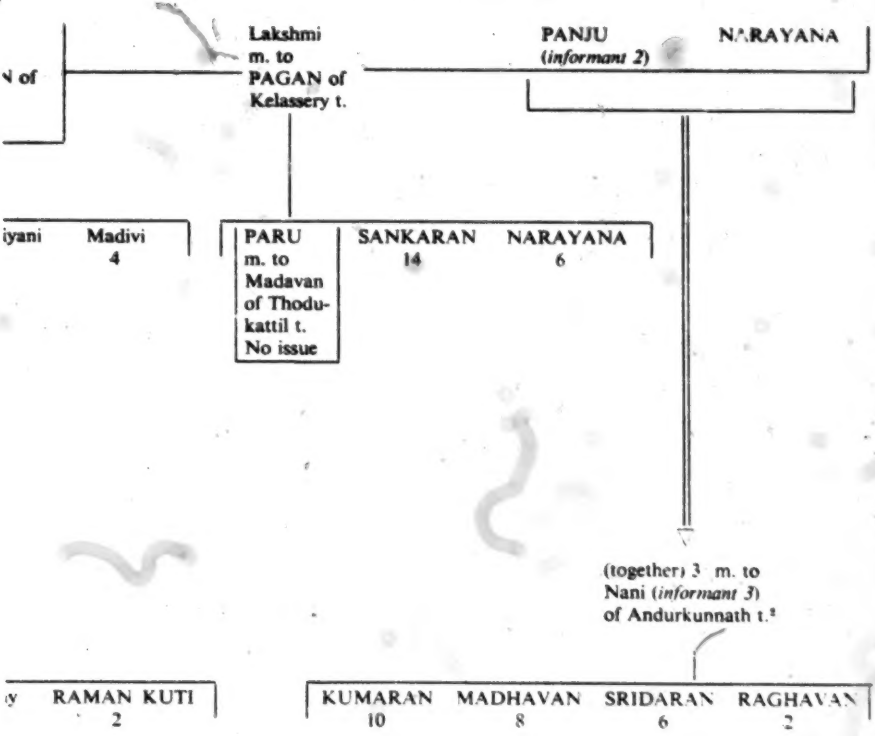


: same compound.

[facing p. 180-B]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Thandans

*595
601



[facing P. 180-C]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Tiyas

The informant, Velu, with whom we spoke, kept us outside the house on some chairs in the drive leading up to the property. He did not seem inclined to let us come in. 595* [123]

I made the accompanying genealogy with Velu. It is rather an extensive one since the family was large, and therefore I have laid it out in two Tables (4 & 5), separating the two lots of polyandrous families in which the older generation was divided. As regards the name, the informant told me that the *tarawad* contained five households, of which this was one; they had appellations principally of the four cardinal points, the name of his household meaning "eastern". 595* 601

Velu and his two younger brothers were married polyandrously to Kalyany, who had become their wife after her elder sister, Amalu, had died. This appeared to be somewhat reminiscent of sororate, but I understand that it was not so, the brothers simply having taken their sister-in-law in marriage because they liked her and thought it a good idea. The two elder brothers who were now dead, Pangan and Karapan, had also been married polyandrously to Mogami, who was still alive; she was sixty five at the time of my research work. They had had her all to themselves, because the three younger men had not wanted her. although for what reason it was impossible to make Velu say. All that he would impart to us was that they did not want her, and brought in Amalu as their wife, and kept her in the same house with the others. Even today, he said, they all lived together, without the property having been divided up between them.

Mogami had had eighteen children of whom thirteen were still alive. I had an opportunity to meet this remarkable woman some weeks later, and I found her a lively and intelligent person, who did not appear to be the slightest bit worn out by her two husbands and many children. She was thin and rather small with flashing eyes and a very sharp brain. She told me many anecdotes of her former married life, with great relish and obvious pleasure, as if she had been extremely happy in it. She was quite unashamedly proud of her achievements and her present widowed life was kept interesting by the memories for which she lived. 595*

Two of her eldest daughters, Lakshmi and Kuniyukuti, had been married polyandrously, and still lived under that arrangement, although Chankuni, the elder husband of Kuniyukuti, was rarely at home; he was employed as a peon in Ceylon, and only paid brief visits to Kerala. This brought the total number of polyandrous families in the Kereghetil household to four. [164] [167]

It should be noted, however, that only the men and their families as [591]

[Text continues on p. 183]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 A W11 Kerala A W11
Tiyas

TABLE 4. GENEALOGY OF KUTUKULANGARA *Tarawad*, KEREGHETIL E

*595
●601

Kuttuma † m. to ? of Totupadam t. one girl (name unknown)

Kandu † died unmarried

Lakshmi m. to KOPAN & KUNYUNI of Perankalangara t.

Kurumba m. to GOPALAN of Pularukotil t.

Kuniyukuti m. to CHANKUNI & VELUKUTI of Padignakara t.

KANDAPAN m. to Kuniama of Chateil t. n. issue

Menakshi[1] m. to TUPERAN of Velakara t.

Madu m. to KUM of Ali- kute t

(A)

Amalu m. to GOVINDAN of Kutat t.

BALAN unmarried

(B)

Tangama m. to MATHAMAN of Paminguel t.

BALAN 15

Tankamani 13

(C)

all three unmarried

Kan

BHARATAN 7

SINDARAN 6

Savitri[3] 5

boy (no name) 6 m.

(A)

Panjali m. to ACHUDAN of ? t.

NANU m. to Kalyany of Muterat t.

KARUNAKARAN m. to Devaki of ? t. no issue

BASHKARAN 17

PADMANAVAN 16

all three unmarried

Savitri 14

YESODA 13

JENARDHANAN 12

RAJAN[2] 11

Tangama 4

RAJAN 2

Su 3

(B)

SANKARAN 18

SEKARAN 16

KESSAVAN 15

Tanjorma 13

Umukuti 9

all of them unmarried

(C)

Sarojini m. to KUNIMAN of Kalail t.

Srimadi m. to RAMANKUTI of Machera t.

Janegi 14

Kanulach 13

PRABHA 12

KANU 11

Savitu 9

all of them unmarried

a boy 3

a girl 1

RAMAN 6 months

[Facing P. 181-A]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWll Kerala AWll

Tiyas

EREGHETIL HOUSEHOLD. PART 1.

*595
● 601

PANGAN

enakshi[1] to JPERAN Vela-ra t.	Madu[2] m. to KUMARAN of Ali-kute t	Janeki m to KITTPA of Chara-watil t.	Kalyany m. to KRISHNA of Tara-yil t.	KESHEVAN m. to Amalu of Tondi-lil t.	ACHU 2	

(C)

Tankamani 13	Kamelakshmi[4] 12	Devaki 5	Banu 2	PRABHAKARAN 7	RAJAN 5	J

hree unmarried

PADMANAVAN 16	SRIDARAN 15

all three unmarried

na	RAJAN 2	Suchilla 3 m.

ANU 11	Savitu 9	ASOKA 6

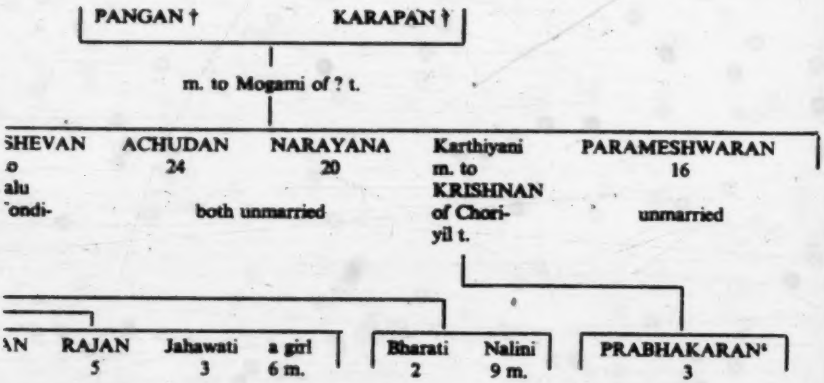
arried

[facing P. 181-B]

[1] Followed by a girl who die
[2] Followed by two girls, a bo
[3] Followed by a girl who die
[4] Followed by two girls aged
[5] Followed by a girl who die
[6] Followed by a girl aged six
Conventional signs as in Table

Tiyas

*595
●601

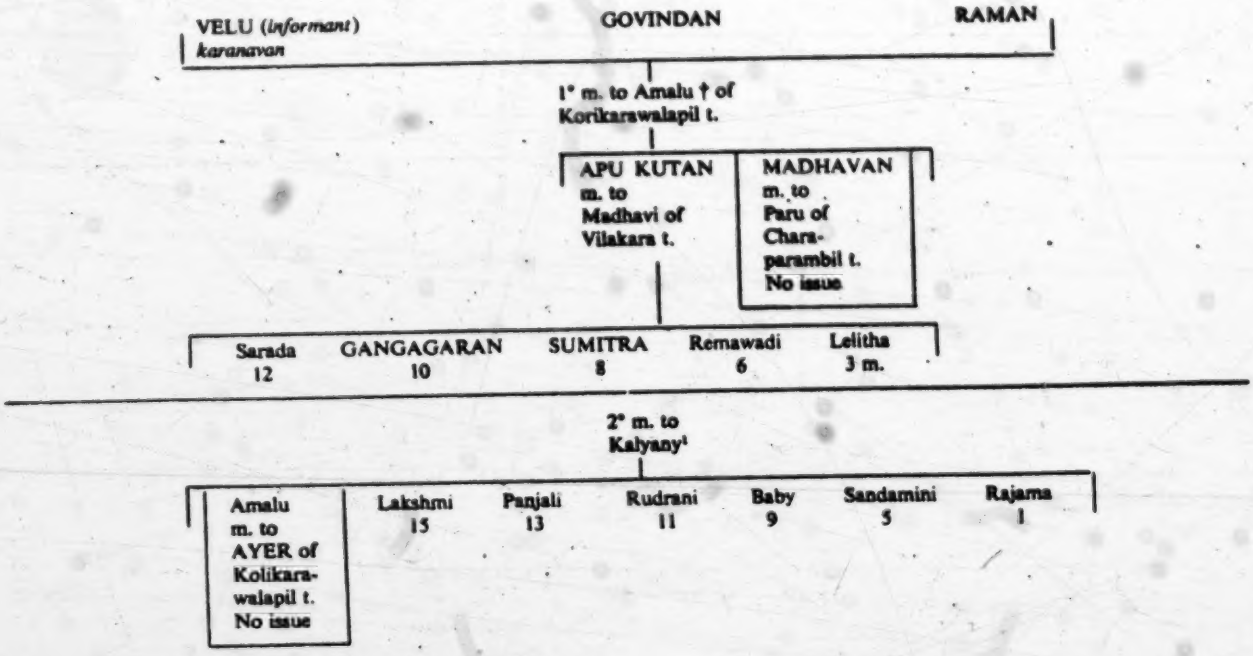


ved by a girl who died in infancy.
ved by two girls, a boy and two other girls who all died in infancy.
ved by a girl who died in infancy and another girl now aged three months.
ved by two girls aged eight and ten months respectively.
ved by a girl who died in infancy.
ved by a girl aged six months, yet unnamed.
onal signs as in Table 3.

[Facing P. 181-C]

*595
●601

TABLE 5. GENEALOGY OF KATUKULANGARA *Tarawad*, KEREGETHIL HOUSEHOLD. PART 2.



[1] Sister of first, deceased wife, therefore of same *tarawad*.
Conventional signs as in Table 3.

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Tiyas

*595 We went first to the house of some rich Tiyas, in which we had been told that there were three elderly men living in polyandry. It was a large mansion standing in a well-kept compound, and we met one of the members of the older generation as well as a young man. When we asked them about their polyandry, they both shook their heads and protested that we had been "misinformed". Nobody in their family practised this marital custom, they said, although they admitted that the previous generation had done so. Since there was nothing we could do about it, and it would be useless to argue with such people, we went on. However, from the next house that we reached, we heard that what we had previously been told was correct and that these men did not tell us the truth. Because they were well off, they liked to play up at being "progressive", we heard, and therefore denied their polyandry which was nevertheless a fact.

The two tumbled-down, thatched houses which we next visited, stood in a very small compound in which plantain and coconut trees grew. Two old men, one very bald, and an aged lady, her flat bosoms hanging down dismally on her bare chest, came out to greet us. They were very [574] hospitable and kind, and offered us fresh coconut milk from a nut, to drink. The younger of the two men, Raman, aged sixty five, volunteered to give us any information that we wished to obtain from him.

*595 He told us that he and his two elder brothers, Shangu and Mundon, ●601 had been married to Chaki, the white haired old lady, for fifty years. Shangu, the eldest, had now been dead for three years, but Mundon, three years his junior, was alive at just seventy one. He was the other man, with the bald head. They lived in the larger of the two thatched houses. Kandapan, their third son, who was married to Lakshmi and had a small boy three years old, lived in the smaller house. They had only been married for four years, since "the last renewal".

427 This remark, it seemed, was an allusion to the rent. The latter consisted of a *kurikanam* lease, for which they paid three rupees a year (or the equivalent in bananas, they said), and a renewal fee of six rupees every twelve years. They had paid the latter four years ago, and it had gone to their *janmi*, a Nambudri Brahmin whose *illam* was called 273 Granghat *illam*. By profession they were toddy tappers, but since the [463] introduction of prohibition in Madras State, they had been deprived of [656] their livelihood. It seemed that there was an inner belt of some miles within Cochin territory in which the distilling and sale of liquor was prohibited in order to prevent smuggling over the border, and that they, since their house was situated ten miles inland, were affected by this regulation.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Tiyas

regulation. They said that they were starving and that they had had nothing to eat that morning. When I asked them how they would solve their problem, they replied that it was better that I "did not ask". Evil times had befallen them in their old age, and they really did not know what they could do about it; they might hire themselves out as labourers, if they were not so old and feeble. They agreed with me that the increase in population in Kerala over the years had made the difficulty of feeding so many people increasingly great.

Their two elder sons, called Ayapakuti and Pangha, lived polyandrously, I heard, some few miles away, on a bit of land which their fathers had given them fourteen years ago, in the fifth year of their marriage and after the birth of their fourth child. The common wife, Paru, was now alone with the thirty five year old second son, as the elder had died two years ago, also at the age of thirty five. It seemed that Kandapan had originally been part of the polyandrous household but that, tiring of living in this way, he had found a wife for himself, Lakshmi, with whom he had returned to the parental house to live, after the last renewal of the lease, four years ago.

With the old folk and Kandapan's family, was also Kunyu, a daughter, twenty five years old and divorced ten years ago. She had been married at the age of fourteen to Velahu, a man eighteen years her senior. She was childless and had not remarried. She lived in the larger house with her parents.

I took photographs of the family and a group picture of them can be seen in Fig. 10. I also made their genealogy, which is attached herewith in Table 6. I stayed on and discussed various problems with these people for part of the afternoon (having provided for them to have lunch in the meantime, which was most welcome to them in their starved condition). They told me that even if polyandry was now prohibited since the Act passed in 1940, it had been dying out for some years in any case. The legislation – of which they really had no idea at all – was only the confirmation and the consecration of a *de facto* state of affairs. Concerning the inheritance of girls in Tiya families, I may mention that, since the passing of the Act, property would have to be divided. Girls would also get their share which would be half that of the boys; they would pass it on to their own children and, since they were *makkathayam*, it would become merged with that of the latter's fathers. If there were no boys and only girls in the household, its property would cease to exist after the girls had been married off, for each of them would take her part away in accordance with the above.

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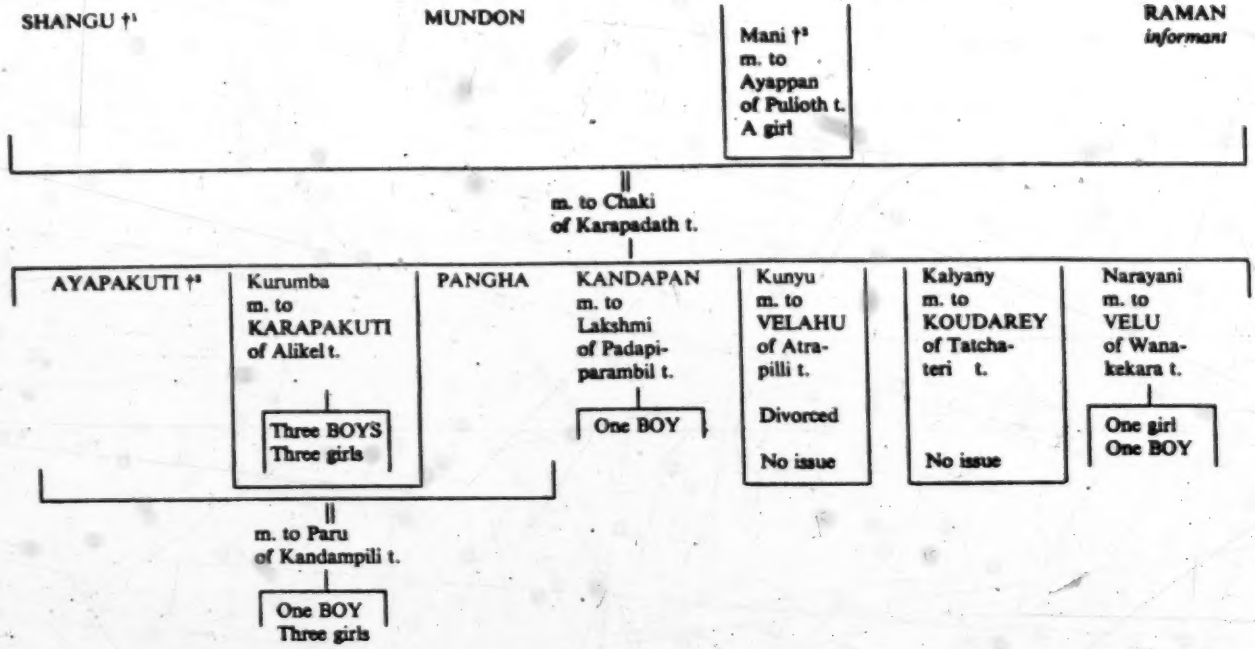
TABLE 6. GENEALOGY OF KALADIWALAPIL HOUSEHOLD AND *Tarawad*.



¹ Died three years ago, aged 71
² Died at the age of thirty, would be sixty-seven today.
³ Died aged thirty-five, two years ago.
Conventional signs as in Table 3.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Tiyas

595*

We still had time that afternoon, to drive back into the village of Perumpillav and to interview some more polyandrous Tiyas. We drove to a Tiya house to have a talk with a man, a woman and a boy who confirmed to us that they belonged to families practising polyandry.

[115]
[427]

The man was called Tami; he was fifty six years old and worked as a coolie. He had the *Kudiyiruppu* lease of a house for which he paid three rupees a year to a Mopla, Melethil Kunyuni Haidaros. The latter was himself the *verumpattamdar* of a *janmi* called Cheralayam Nambidi. (I was unable to find out if he was a Brahmin, an Ambalavasi or a Samantan; with the title *Nambidi* which he bore, he could have been any one of the three, but I suspect that he was a Brahmin, as this is the caste which owns the land in north Cochin.)

[423]

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Tami's household name was Kanadiwalapil, which was also that of his *tarawad*. He and his brother, Narayan, were married to Chidu, alias Sri Devi, a woman now aged fifty. The younger brother was his junior by twenty one years and had been married as second husband to their common wife when he was only five years old. There were five children, of whom the two eldest were girls, now married off elsewhere. All the boys were unmarried, and worked with their fathers as coolies.

[115]

I found the informant extremely difficult to question. He was continually contradicting himself, and pretended that he knew no names nor ages. Thus I was unable to discover the name of his wife's *tarawad*, how many children his second daughter had had, and the ages of his two eldest sons, Velu and Kutan. I give the genealogy as I struggled to make it, in Table 7, but I fear that it is sadly incomplete and perhaps not even reliable. It was nevertheless of interest to find out something, however little, from a Tiya polyandrous labourer.

We next turned to the woman. She was accompanied by her twelve year old son, Balakrishnan, and at once showed herself, in striking contrast to her predecessor, to be bright and helpful. This was a great relief after the previous painful session. I was able to record the name of her *tarawad*, but did not manage to ascertain that of the household into which she had married.

She told me that she had had five husbands, all of them paid (free) agricultural labourers, living as *kudiyiruppu* tenants of the same Cheralayam Nambidi *janmi*. She did not know the amount of rent paid yearly, but told me that her husbands' family had been settled here for a very long time – for eighty or a hundred years, as she put it. They had little work to do, not enough in fact to keep such a large family alive. They had been toddy tappers once. Kalyany had been married publicly

[Text Continues on P. 189]

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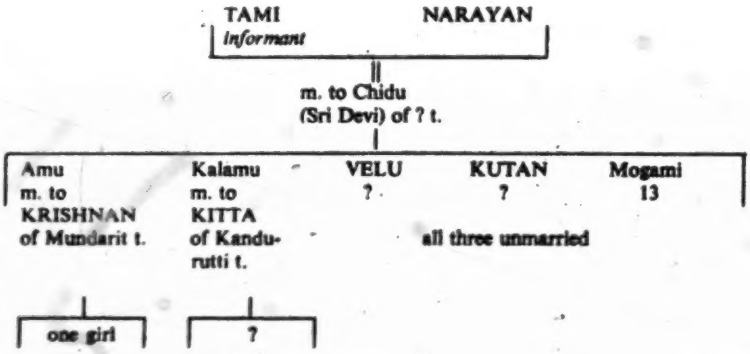
TABLE 7. GENEALOGY OF KANADIWALAPIL HOUSEHOLD AND *Tarawad*.



Conventional signs as in Table 3.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Tiyas
Thandans

to the four eldest boys to begin with. That was twenty seven years ago, and she was forty six now. Innayakkan, the last husband, had joined his brothers later, when he was twelve and with their consent, but there had been no ceremony. 595 * 601 ●

Very soon after this, Iyyer, the third husband, finding conditions too difficult in Kerala, did what many Tiyas had done since time immemorial; he emigrated to Ceylon, where he worked as a railway coolie. Kalyany had remained with Koppan, Pangoda, Ponan and Innayakkan, and she had had five children by them. Then Ponan died of tuberculosis, ten years after the wedding, aged twenty five. Fifteen years ago, the two eldest men had also left for Ceylon and sent Iyyer back to look after their wife. He had returned, had taken up his former profession of toddy tapping, and was her only real husband now. She had had three more children by him, Balakrishnan was the second and the only boy. There had been no news at all of Koppan and Pangoda, and she presumed that they were dead. Inayakkan had run away from home some time back and had never been heard of again; he was also presumed dead. With Iyyer and herself lived Kesheran, her second son, two unmarried girls and the three last children. Work was still scarce, and pay meagre, so that Aiyappan, the eldest, had gone to Kozhikode (Calicut) in order to try and gain employment. His brother, Padmanapan, had done the same, but he had gone to Madras, on the east coast. She had been trying to help Balakrishnan find work all day: yesterday he had been given a job as a coolie, but today, he was unemployed. [464] [169] [464] [166]

Kalyany told me that she was related to the brothers of the Katukulangara *tarawad* whom I had interviewed at Kadavelur on the 27th of October. She was a half sister of Velu by another mother. I found this family particularly interesting, because it illustrated, more than any other Tiya one encountered so far, the ancient and persistant connection which the caste has with Ceylon. Their genealogy is given in Table 8.

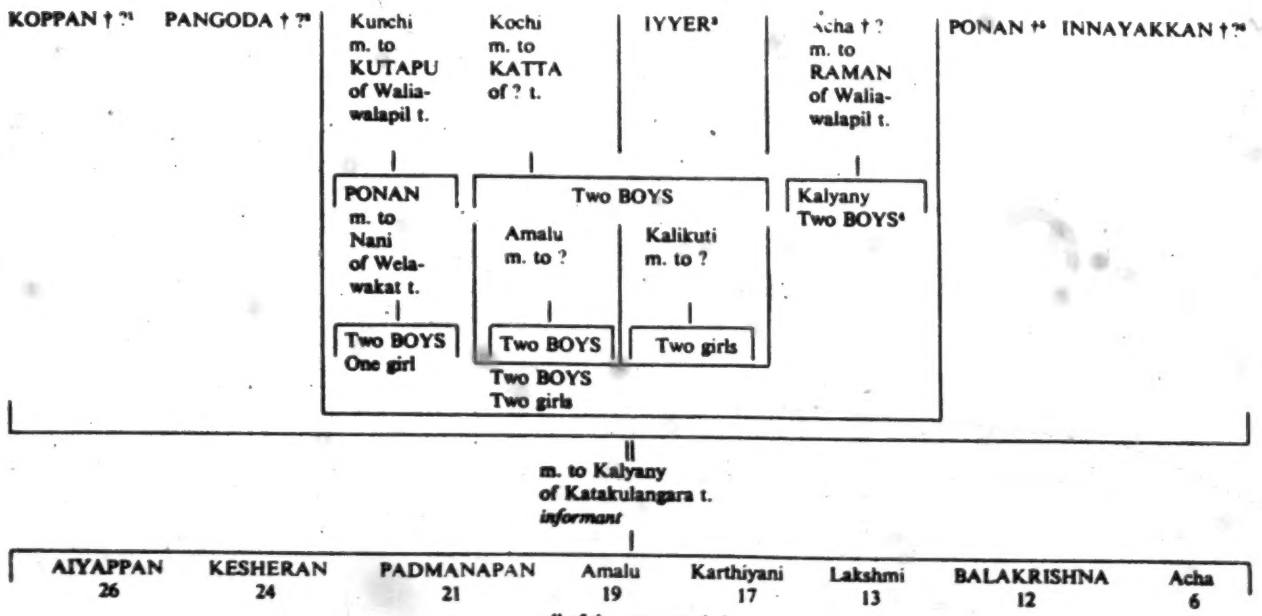
Before going on to an account of my visits to Kammalans and other artisan families practising polyandry in Kerala, I would like to give here, together with the material that I collected about Tiyas, the description of a Thandan family that I went to see on the 25th of November 1949. 595*

They lived in a large house, standing in a big garden of coconut trees, arecanut palms, plantains and jacks. It was situated at the cross-roads of the Nilambur valley track and the highway to Pattambi, quite close to Shoranur. [351] [361]

I began by interviewing the matriarch of the household, an old lady of eighty, called Kali, the widow of five husbands. The household and [601]

[Text Continues on P. 191]

TABLE 8. GENEALOGY OF A TIYA LABOURER'S FAMILY



[1] Left fifteen years ago for Colombo, Ceylon; whereabouts unknown, presumed dead, aged forty five.
[2] Also emigrated to Ceylon where also presumed dead, aged thirty two.
[3] After many years in Ceylon, returned home fourteen years ago.
[4] This whole family has emigrated to Trichynopoly in Madras state. Acha is possibly dead.
[5] Died of tuberculosis, aged twenty five.
[6] Has run away from home, whereabouts unknown, possibly dead.

Conventional signs as in Table 3.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWI Kerala AWI Tiyas
595* 601

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Thandans

tarawad name was Neripatta, and the property now belonged to the old woman and her sons. They were *verumpattam* cultivators for a Nayar *kanamdar*, the Shoranur *desammangalam* (village headman) whom I had met. They paid a rent of five rupees.

I heard that of the old generation, the four brothers, Paini, Krishna, Raman, Aiyappan and Narayan, were dead – although there was some doubt about Narayan, the last one. As he had emigrated to Singapore and had never come back, they presumed that he had died there. They had all been wed polyandrously to Kali when she was seventeen, and she was now left with her four sons, who had begun by being polyandrous, but who had eventually taken wives of their own, the common wife, Paru, having stayed with the eldest, Velandi. The property had, however, not been split up, and they lived in the mansion-sized house, which was happily large enough to contain them all. Presumably it was also sufficiently big to keep the women from quarrelling and dragging the men into their squabbles – something which people who live in polyandry seem particularly to fear. Of the third generation, the two grandsons, Velu and Krishna, had also lived polyandrously, having taken one Kalyany as a common wife. Like their two sisters they had, however, died, aged thirty and twenty respectively, leaving a couple of boys with their widow to look after. There had thus been three generations of polyandrous marriages in this family.

Another point of interest was the fact that two of Kali's sons, Paragnoden and Krishna had broken away, the former after having first been married with his elder brothers to Paru. They had married their fathers' sisters' daughters, Vali in the first case, and Janeki in the second. When I enquired why this was so, I found it difficult to get a precise answer. I was told that was because this was a "right" marriage, and that if possible, marriage with a *machchunan* is "best". But I evoked only silence and some quizzical looks when I asked why then Paragnoden was first married polyandrously to Paru. It seemed to me – although this is only my personal impression and I was not told so – that the polyandrous marriage was gone through with because it was customary in those days, when the elder brother got married, for the younger ones to join in. Later, when Paragnoden, for reasons which he did not impart to me, felt like putting up a household of his own, he naturally turned to his cross-cousin, on his fathers' side. He was eighteen when he married Paru, with his brothers, and twenty two when he left her and took Vali to wife. This would not account, however, for Krishna, the youngest, not having also been married to Paru. It may be, of course that he was

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Thandans
Kammalans

so, but that they would not tell me. He was twenty five when he took his fathers' sisters' daughter, Janeki, to be his wife.

I found Kali difficult to interview. She was old, very old by Indian and Kerala standards, and quite plainly showed her displeasure at being bothered. Consequently I went over to asking Paragnoden for the information that I wanted, but he seemed extraordinarily ignorant and lazy. Finally, it was from a neighbour who was called in, that most of what I learned was gathered. It is from what these combined informants told me, and from what my guide and interpreter knew about the family, that I was able to piece the genealogy together. It will be found in Tables 9 and 10 herewith. I have been obliged to put it on two tables because of the size of the first generation.

On Table 9, Vali and Lakshmi are shown. Now deceased, they were sisters of the five brothers. They live to be fifty and fifty three respectively. Personal names and *tarawad* names were not always known by the informants, and in these cases, I have been obliged to put in interrogation marks – except where a *tarawad* is qualified as being one from the village of Palappuram, for this at least gives a geographical location. It is to be noted in Table 9 how advanced in age are some of the unmarried young people, but then Thandans do marry late in Kerala, differing in this from other parts of India. The congenital idiot, Narayan, son of Paragnoden, was at his father's side during the interview.

This completed my general study of Thandan and Tiya (Thiyya) polyandry. However, before this date occurred, I had already started visiting Kammalan houses to find out what the polyandry of this caste of artisans was like.

On the 12th of November, 1949, I went to Lakkidi in the Walluvanad taluk, near the borders of Palghat taluk, to interview the Tiyas I had seen there ten years before. I was accompanied by two interpreters and a guide. We were not successful in finding the Tiya family we sought, as it had moved elsewhere in the intervening years, but we found a blacksmith living on the same bit of property, as I have already reported earlier (see p. 178). Before I give an account of this family's polyandry, however, I would like to describe that of a household of goldsmiths, living close by, as, hierarchally, these craftsmen come before their fellow blacksmiths in the Kammalan caste.

In the language of Kerala, Malayalam, they are called *Tatham* (see p. 173) and they are among those who are said to have gone to Ceylon in the days of the Perumals. They are not a wealthy group of people, and this became apparent at once when we entered their compound near

[i.e. 22, 20, 12 & 10 yrs. old -- Analyst]

[TEXT Continues on P. 194]

TABLE 9. GENEALOGY OF NERIPATTA HOUSEHOLD AND *Tarawad.* PAR

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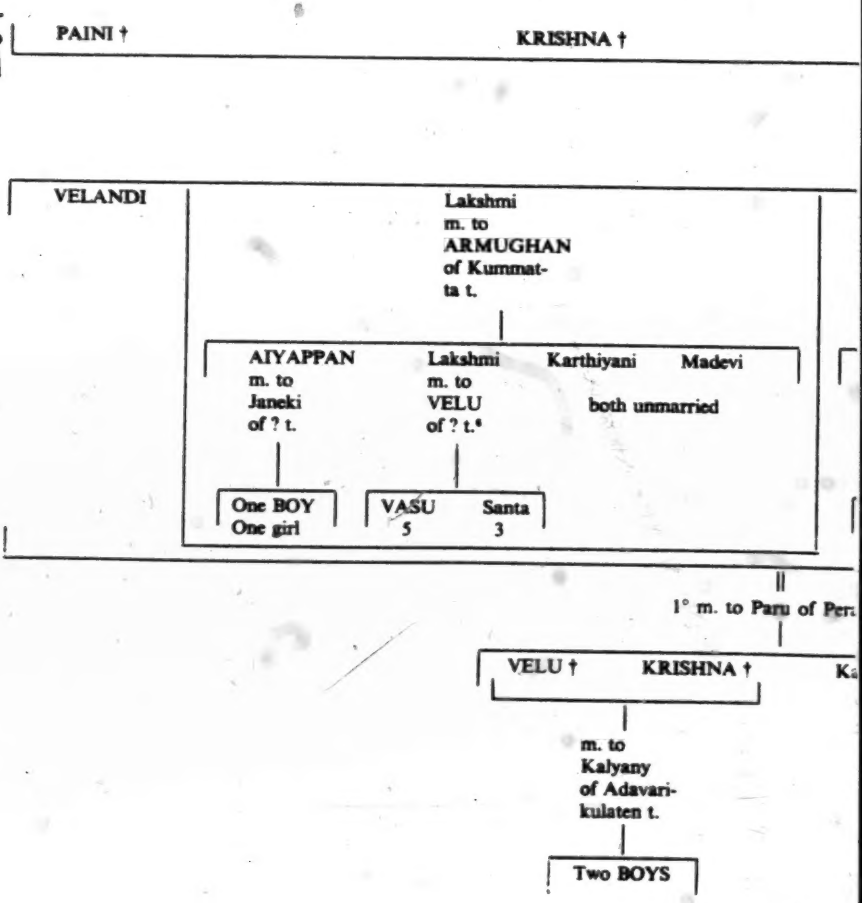
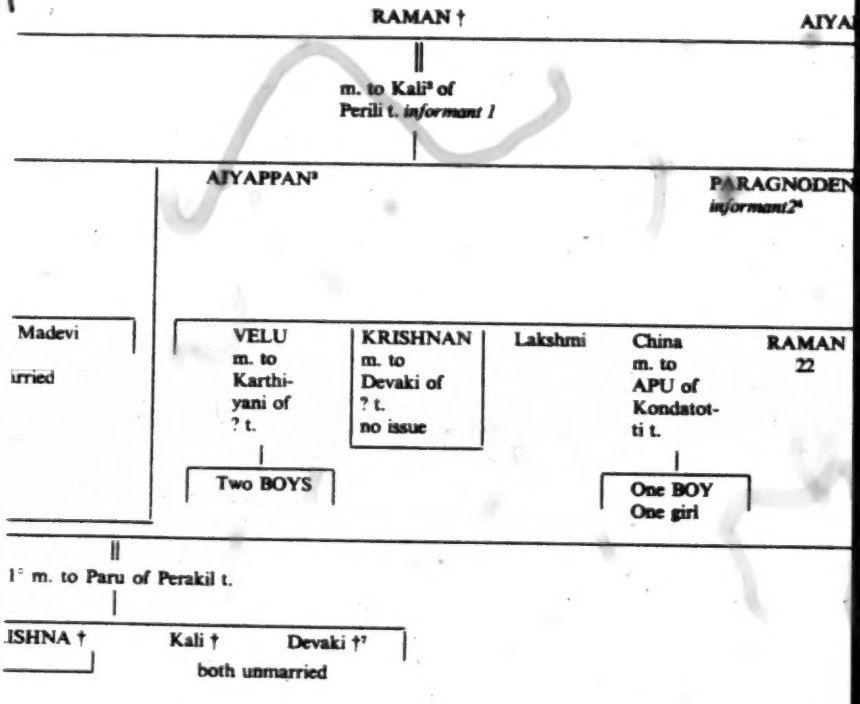


Conventional signs as in Table 3.

[facing p. 192-A]

D *Tarawad.* PART I.

*595
601



1 Emigrat
2 Now ei
3 2° m. (a
Tina
of Perak
KE
4 2° m. (a
Vali, his
5 His fath
6 At Manj
very sma
7 Velu die
died of

[Facing P. 192-B]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWII Kerala AWII
Thandans

*595
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AIYAPPAN †

NARAYAN † ?[1]

PARAGNODEN
informant2[2]

KRISHNA
m. to
Janeki
of Odevan-
gatil t.[3]

Paru
m. to
ARMUGHAN
of Kanga-
lata t.

RAMAN 22 | Devaki 20 | Madevi 12 | NARAYAN 10

of
atot-

all of them unmarried

OY
irl

[1] Emigrated to Singapore, fate unknown, presumed dead.
[2] Now eighty years old
[3] 2° m. (at 43, now 55, after 15 years of first marriage) to:
Tina
of Peralli t.

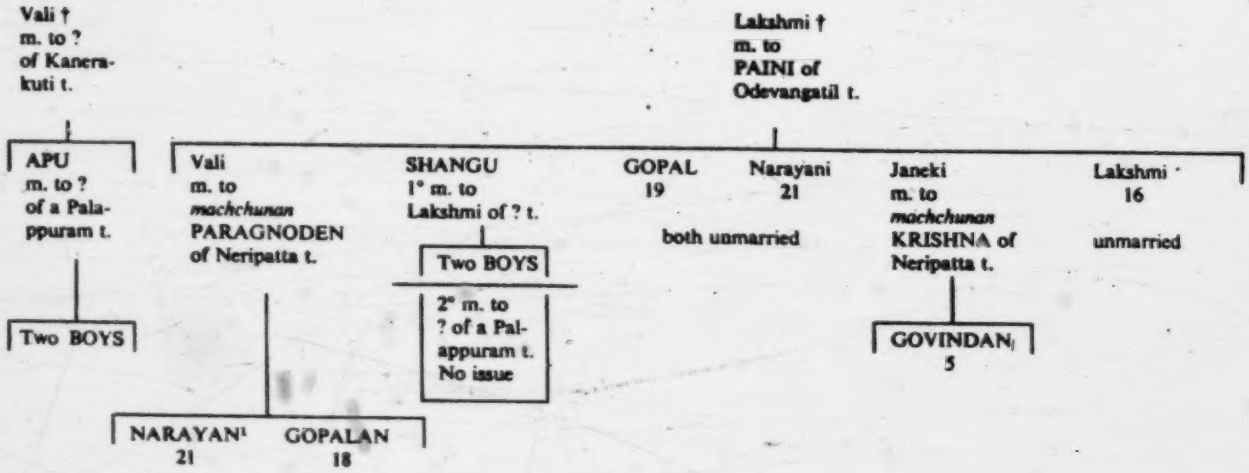
KESEVAN 11 | Lakshmi 9

[4] 2° m. (at 22, now 45, after 4 years of first marriage) to:
Vali, his fathers' sister's daughter (see Part 2).
[5] His fathers' sister's daughter (see Part 2).
[6] At Manjara. Now divorced; the children are with the mother because they are still very small.
[7] Velu died of "fever"; Krishna of a "stomach ache"; Kali fell into a well; Devaki died of dysentry.

[586]
[165]

[facing P. 192-C]

TABLE 10. GENEALOGY OF NERIPATTA HOUSEHOLD AND *Tarawad*. PART 2.



[1] A congenital idiot.
Conventional signs as in Table 3

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595*
601

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Kammalans

*595 564 [361] the cross-roads of the main Shoranur-Palghat highway of the road to Lakkidi, a few furlongs down the latter, on the right hand side. In contrast to the Thandan houses to which we had been, although not to the Tiya (Thiyya) houses of the Cochin labourers, the place looked rather [342] miserable. It was a thatched palm-leaf house, standing on a red laterite loam platform, in the middle of some paddy fields. There were signs [241] about that these Tathans were not only goldsmiths but that they now [231] also practised agriculture. There was paddy lying about to dry in heaps in the yard, and there were stalls for bullocks at the back.

*595 [601] We interviewed a man called Raman and his brother Kochen, aged fifty four and fifty two respectively, who lived polyandrously with their wife, Kurumba, forty five years old. They seemed rather impressed by us, and were reluctant to speak. They observed the outward forms of [574] hospitality, however, and presented us with fresh coconuts for us to drink the milk.

Raman told us that the household's name was Padijarehil, meaning "Western", and that it was part of five others which constituted the [611] Uzhugaparekil *tarawad*. The latter was *makkathayam*, as we expected, [614] and exogamous, as was also their *kiriyam*, although, here too, they only observed the rule in matters which concerned those members of it whom they knew. They had two and a half acres of paddy fields, in simple *595 427 243 *verumpattam* lease from a Nambudri Brahmin janmi called Kodiertha-mana. For this they paid five rupees a year and handed in a part of the harvest – five hundred *parahs*, I have in my notes, three hundred from the *kanni* crop and two hundred from the *magaram*.[1] As it was an ordinary *verumpattam*, there was no renewal fee. They had a deficit this year of forty *parahs* (roughly lbs. 866⅓) and they were wondering what they could do to make it good. Last year they had done "other work" [464] (presumably such as hiring themselves out as labourers) in order to raise the cash needed to compensate for the deficiency in grain, and they might do the same thing now. When I asked them what kind of *595 [326] goldsmith's work they did, they laughed and said that they had given [936] this up; how could they carry on with their traditional profession, they asked, when the sovereign which was once worth Rs. 25 had reached Rs. 7?

[601] Raman and Kochen had had eleven children in their polyandrous

[1] This again seems too much. It is equivalent to lbs. 10,830 (1 Palghat *parah* = 10 *edengalis* = 40 *nalis* (1 *nali* = *tolas* 21¾ in s. Walluvanad and Palghat) = 866,40 *tolas*; as 40 *tolas* = 1 lb. in s. Malabar, 1 *parah* = 866,40 : 40 = 21¾ lbs and 500 = lbs 10,830).

[804]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Kammalans

union with Kurumba. They were not the only ones following the custom in the family, as their sister, Paru, now dead, had also had two husbands, the brothers Aiyappan and Narayan of the Vetukatukundu *tarawad*. She had died in childbirth, when her little boy was born; the child died too. Nilu, their youngest sister, had also died giving birth to a boy, her first-born, who did not survive either. Of what Narayani, the next youngest sister, had died, was not clear, but it had been after she had given birth to a little girl who was still alive. Of their children, the eldest, a boy called Kunju, and his sister, the eldest but one and bearing the name of Kunji, had married a brother and sister of a neighbouring *tarawad* called Putanparekil; there had been no marriage between cross-cousins. They did, however, say that this was the best form of union, as the Thandans had said. The genealogy of the family is given in Table 11.

I have described how, previously, we went into the other compound, where the Tiyas of 1939 used to live, to question the family of blacksmiths about their polyandry. This sub-caste of the Kammalans is called *Karuwan* or *Perinkollan* and they, too, are not a wealthy class. These lived only a few years from the Thatan household just described, and their dwelling was very similar to the other. The yard of the thatched house had blacksmith's instruments lying about it, which showed at once who lived there.

We met and interviewed a man called Ittenam, aged fifty five, whose brother, Poreyn, with whom he used to share a common wife, Paru, was now dead. He was a widower, and lived with his sons, Raman and Kunyuni, twenty two and twenty years old, who were present at our talk. Their common wife, Nani, twenty, was also there, a little baby boy on her hip, and the two other women with her were her sister-in-law, Narayani, twenty four, who was the wife of both her brothers and also the sister of her two husbands, and Kunji, the thirty six year old elder sister of Narayani, Raman and Kunyuni. A picture of her is given in Fig. 12; she was here on a visit, as her household was elsewhere. All the women, except Kunji, were bare-breasted, and, when they were not suckling the babies on their hips, milk ran down onto their abdomens from their naked breasts. Itteenam's elder sister, Unuli, was alive, aged sixty one, but she was married and had her home elsewhere with her husband, Narayan.

When I made the genealogy of this household, I found that its name was Mudrikkelparampil. The *tarawad* was similarly named and was exogamous together with the *kiriyam*, as was to be expected. *Makka-*

[Text Continues on P. 197]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWII Kerala AWII Kammalahs
*595
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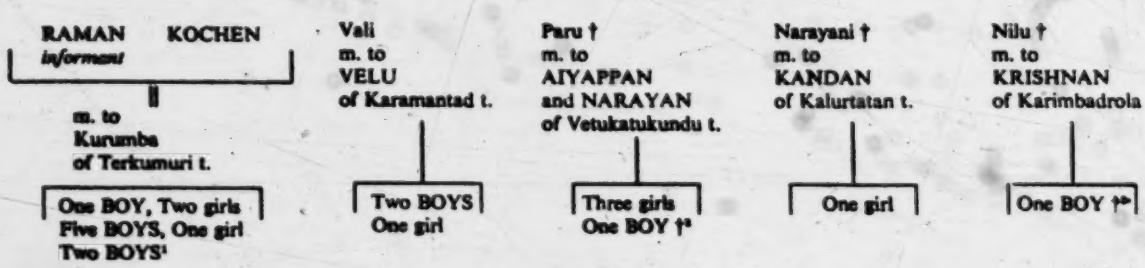
TABLE 11. GENEALOGY OF UZHUGAPAREKIL *Tarawad*, PADIJAREHIL HOUSEHOLD.



[1] KUNJU, m. to Narayani of Putanparekil t., two girls.
Kunji, m. to KRISHNAN of Tarayil t., one BOY, one girl.
Lakshmi, m. to KARAPAN of Putanparekil t. (brother's wife's brother), one BOY.
VELAIDEN, 19, unmarried.
NARAYAN, 15, unmarried.
KUNYAN, 12, unmarried.
RAMAN, 10, unmarried.
KRISHNAN, 8.
Narayani or Ameni, 5.
Nameless BOY, dead.
NAMBAN, 1½.

[2] Died at birth, killing his mother.
[3] ditto.

Conventional signs as in Table 3.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Kammalans

thayam was followed and caste, or rather sub-caste, endogamy. There was more polyandry in the second generation of this family than in any other encountered so far. I found that Kunji was married to two husbands; Lakshmi, aged thirty three, to four husbands; Paru, thirty, to two husbands; Sita, twenty eight, to three husbands; and Narayani, already mentioned, to two husbands. All the respective husbands were brothers, and only fraternal polyandry was practised. The women had all married early: Kunji and Yakshmi at sixteen, Paru at fifteen, Sita a bit later at twenty four, and Narayani, the youngest, at eighteen. The reason for which Sita had married later was that she had been taken by the three younger husbands of her elder sister Lakshmi, after seventeen years of marriage with the latter. Only Kanju, the eldest, had remained with Lakshmi, and Raman, Narayan and Krishna had decided to marry Sita jointly, when they found that she was not getting married and showed no inclination to do so outside. The two younger brothers of the Mudrikkelparampil household, Raman and Kunyuni, were eighteen and sixteen when they took Nani to wife; she was now twenty. Polyandry certainly did not look as if it were dying out in the blacksmith's caste, judging, at least, from this striking example.

595* 601 [614] [582] [582]

The property upon which the family lived was worth four thousand rupees. It consisted of the house, some agricultural implements and a paddy field. The people were tenants of the Nambudri Brahmin *janmi* Kodierthamana, and paid him the rent of a customary *verumpattam* nine rupees yearly, plus a renewal fee of thrice the rent every twelve years. Poreyn and Kunyuni were practising smiths, hence the implements we had seen on coming in, and Raman worked at the Metal Industries Ltd. in Shoranur, where we camped. They also cultivated the paddy field to produce some of the rice they needed themselves, although the yield was not very great. The genealogy is given in Table 12.

595* [326] [243] [433]

On the 15th of November, 1949, together with interpreter and guide, I visited a family belonging to the third sub-caste of the Kammalans, that of the carpenters or *Asari* (often pronounced *Ashari*). I heard that laterite-cutters called *Puri-asari* or "mud carpenters" were assimilated to these people, but that they only constituted a division of the sub-caste. They are also reputed to be polyandrous; I did no have an opportunity, however, to verify this myself.

595* 564 [335] [333]

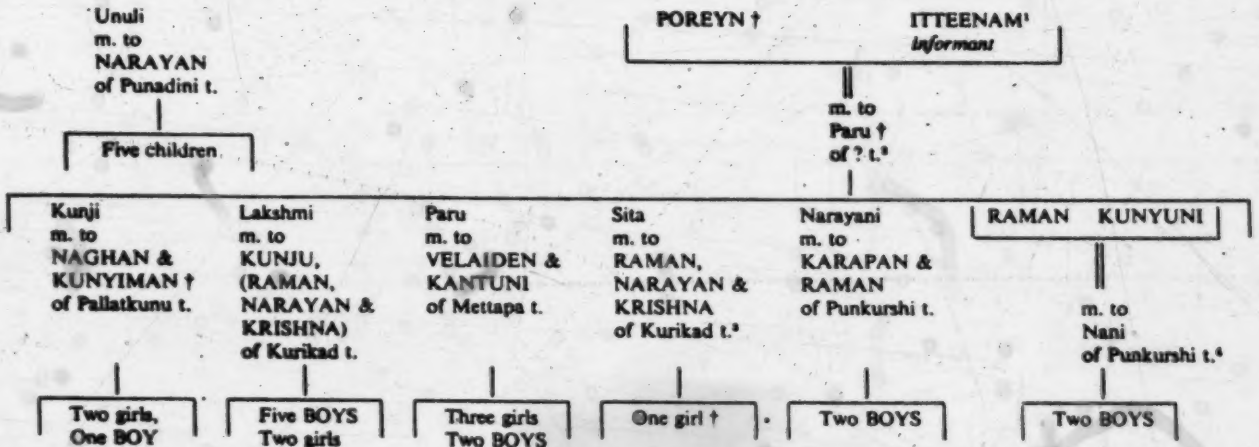
The *Asari* whom I saw that day, lived at Palappuram, a village on the main Shoranur-Palghat road, some few miles east of Ottappalam. The compound of the house was by the side of the road on the right, just beyond the village, coming from the west. It was a very poor looking

595* 342 [361]

[Text continues on P.199]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWII Kerala AWII Kammalans

TABLE 12. GENEALOGY OF MUDRIKKELPARAMPIL HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Also called APPER.
[2] *Tarawad* not known.
[3] Lakshmi remained with KUNJU only, after seventeen years of marriage.
[4] Nani is the sister of her husbands' sister's husbands.
Conventional signs as in Table 3.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Kammalans

construction made of woven palm leaves and thatched, and we interviewed two men: Raman, aged fifty seven, and his eldest son, Kutikrishnan, who was thirty five. The name of the household and *tarawad* was Perinkulam.

Kutikrishnan told us that he had two fathers, Raman, who was with us that day, and Shangu, a younger one, aged fifty five, who was absent. All his fathers' sisters, and there had been three of them, had died in infancy. His mother was called Lakshmi and was fifty; I was unable to ascertain the name of the *tarawad* from which she came. Kutikrishnan's wife bore the same name as his mother and he had had three boys and a girl by her. Only the daughter was alive, as the sons had all died of what he described as "convulsions".

I asked why, if the fathers had been polyandrous, the second generation was not so too. Informant 1 attributed it to times having changed and "civilization spreading". By this he meant that people did not wear their hair tied in the typical Kerala top-knot on one side of the forehead any longer and had also taken to growing moustaches; he said, too, that it was the women now who objected to having more than one husband. In some marriage agreements, it was specified, he said, that the daughter of the house would only be given to one man. It was particularly in wealthy families that this was taking place, because they could afford it. Raman, informant 2, when consulted as to what he thought of these new ways, said that they were bad, but what could be done about them? In olden days, it was always said that polyandry was good because: "Where four breasts cannot agree, two heads can", meaning that the women cannot live in peace together while the men can. Nowadays, the young people did not seem to understand this, and the result was that property was split up between sons and life made harder for them.

When I came to make out the genealogy of the family, I found that in spite of all this talk about new-fangled ways, Amini, Kutikrishnan's sister was married polyandrously to three brothers of a *tarawad* called Warode. It was significant, however, that both informants disclaimed any knowledge of the names of the brothers of the elder husband, Narayan. Later, I heard that although Madhavan, a younger brother of informant 1, aged eighteeen, had not been publicly married to his sister-in-law, Lakshmi, he was known to share her with his brother in the old, traditional polyandrous way. The genealogy is given in Table 13.

The carpenter sub-caste of the Kammalans, Raman told us, have exogamous *tarawads* and *kiriyams*. They too, while observing the rule strictly for the *makkathayam tarawad*, are not so careful about it in the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 201]

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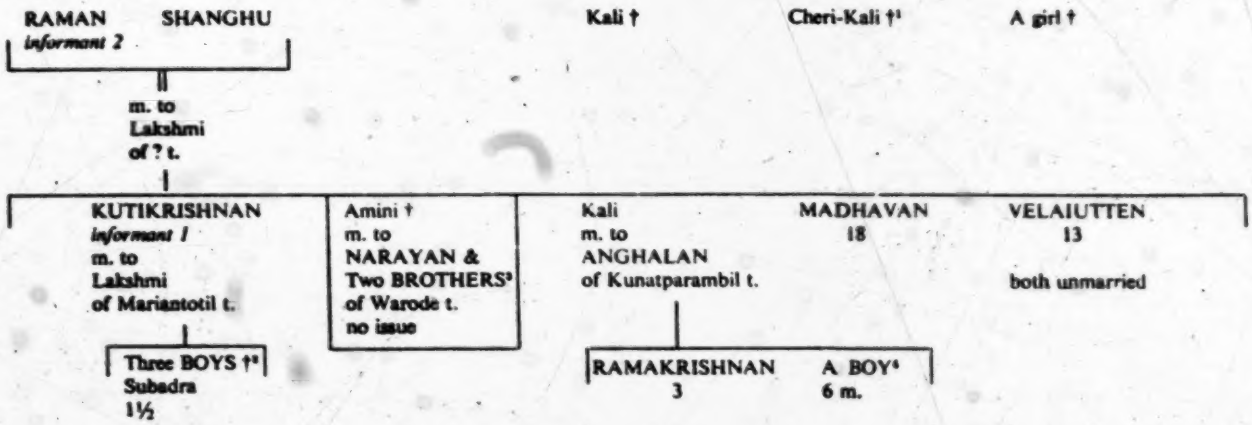
Kammalar

TABLE 13. GENEALOGY OF PERINKULAM HOUSE AND *Tarawad*.



[1] All three died early, at 3, 2 and at birth, respectively.
[2] Deaths due to "convulsions".
[3] Names of brothers unknown.
[4] With no name yet.
Conventional signs as in Table 3.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Kammalans

kiriyam; in that matrilineal descent group they limit themselves to not marrying those of their acquaintances whom they know belong to it. The sub-caste is also endogamous, carpenter only marrying "carpentress", and never a *Puri-asari*. Normally, boys alone can inherit the property, but if there are no male heirs, the girls, even if they are married, will inherit equal shares.

The members of the Perinkulam household were subtenants of a Nayar tenant called Mutad Achutah Nayar, himself the *verumpattamdar* of a Nayar *janmi* from Kavalappaia near Shoranur called Kavalappaia Mupil Nayar. As *kudiyiruppu* tenants of the site where the house was built, they paid a yearly rent of only one rupee.

On the 17th of November, 1949, I visited the house of a member of the fourth and last sub-caste of the Kammalans, the *Musari* (often pronounced *Mushari*), bell-metal (an alloy of lead and brass) smiths or braziers. It was near Lakkidi in the Walluvanad taluk, one furlong north of the main road, and to reach it, my interpreters and I followed a very attractive path, sunk deep between high banks of earth and overshadowed with coconut and arecanut palm trees.

We arrived at a miserable house, standing in a grove of palms and plantains, a red laterite courtyard in front, in which could be seen some stone moulds in grooves – no doubt the foundry. There was nobody about, but when we called out, a little girl (whom we later heard was called Menakhi) appeared and said that she would go and fetch her father. He arrived soon afterwards, a big, strong man, fifty years old, called Krishnan. He wore his hair over his forehead in the typical Malayalam top knot, and he had a very ugly face.

The name of the household, he told us, was Puawutterparamba and it belonged to the Chelamanaparamba *tarawad*. Our informant was the youngest brother of three, and there was a sister called Kali, aged forty nine, about whom, however, he could tell us nothing at all. The whole family used to live, it seemed, at a place called Nedungothani, near Palappuram. That was their village, he said. But then, the elder brother, Konnan, now sixty five years old, had got married some thirty years ago to a woman named Sita whom he had met while "roaming about". He had married late as a result of this proclivity for wandering away from home, and, with his bride, aged fifty today (Krishnan could not tell us the name of her *tarawad*), he had moved to Wallancheri, near Kutipuram, Pattambi, because he had found business bad in Nedungothani. He was still living in Wallancheri and had five children, of whom four were married, the two daughters away to men of other vil-

[1 i.e. in the carpenter sub-caste of the Kammalans -- Analyst]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWII Kerala AWII
Kammalahs

lages. Here again, the informant was unable to give us *tarawad* names, and indeed this was most characteristic of the whole interview. He gave village names instead, saying that they used these now in his caste.

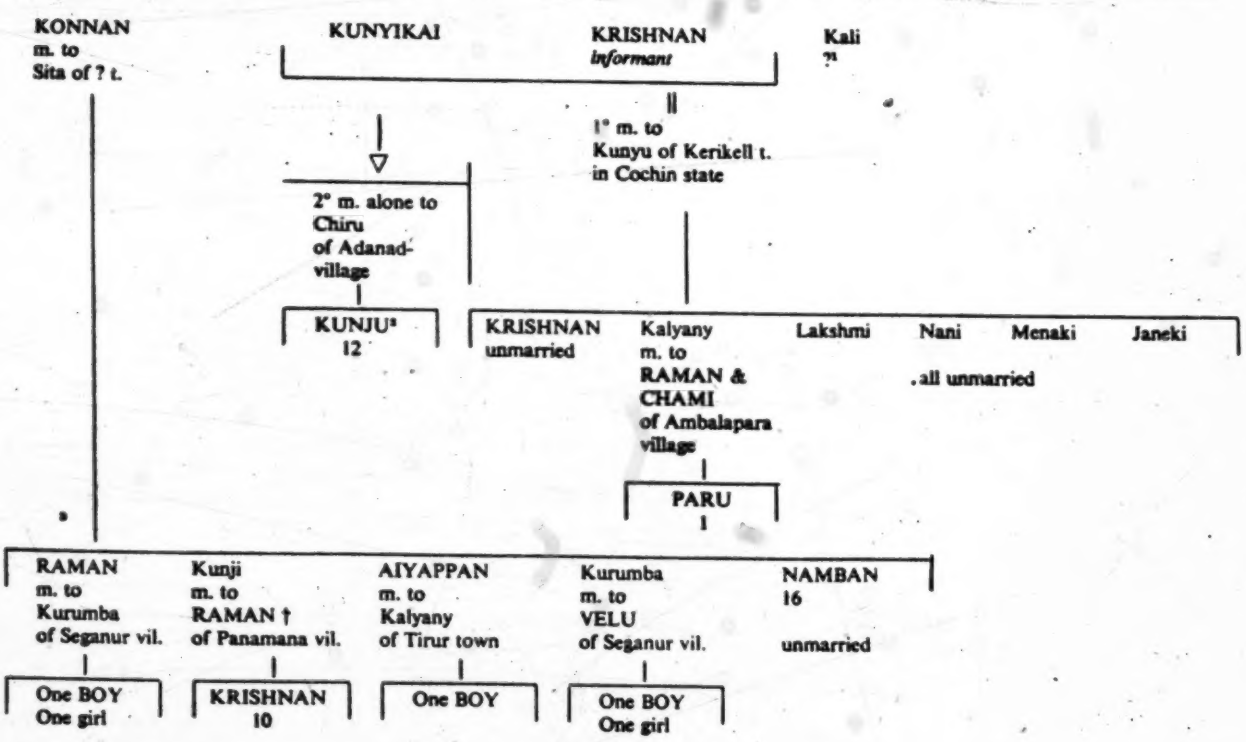
After Konnan had left, their father and their mother's brother got Kunyikai, his elder brother aged sixty two today, and himself married to Kunyu, a young girl fifteen years old at the time, from the Kerikell *tarawad* in Cochin state, resident very close to Lakkidi on the other side of the Ponani river, only about a mile away. That was twenty five years ago, and Kunyu was now forty years old. Very soon, Kunyikai found it impossible to live in this polyandrous atmosphere (Krishnan would give no details), and asked their maternal uncle to get him another wife. Their father had died in the meantime, and their mother's brother was thus the only person who could do this for him. He found Chiru for Kunyikai, and they were wed two years after the former marriage.

All the members of the family never lived together, however, because as soon as the wedding had taken place, Krishnan and the former common wife, took their part of the property (which was not much) and moved to this place near Lakkidi, where they established themselves. They chose it because it was so close to the wife's relatives. All the children they now had were Krishnan's, as Kunyu did not have any for five years after the polyandrous marriage. Krishnan, the eldest boy, now twenty, was born three years after the shift of residence. Kunyikai stayed behind in the family home, and was still there at the time of the interview. He had one boy called Kunju, aged twelve. Of the children of Krishnan and Kunyu, only the second, a daughter called Kalyany, and aged eighteen, was married. She became the wife of two brothers, Raman and Chami, of Ambalapara village, at the age of fifteen. She had one child, a boy called Paru, one year old. The genealogy which I established from this information is given in Table 14.

I was very surprised to find the informant so ignorant of the *tarawad* names – although he did know that of his own *tarawad*. He assured me that village names had now taken their place and that, in his caste, they observed what might be called "village exogamy". Did this mean that the bellmetal smith's patrilineal clans coincided with topographical units such as villages? There was, it seemed to me, a possibility of this being so, although I could get no confirmation of the hypothesis from anybody, not even from my interpreters and guides. The *Musari* observed exogamy also in their *kiriyams*, Krishnan said, although, as in the case of other castes which I have previously described, they only did so for those of the group whom they knew. Inheritance was *makkathayam*,

[TEXT Continues on P. 204]

TABLE 14. GENEALOGY OF PUAWUTTERPARAMBA HOUSEHOLD, CHELAMANAPARAMBA *Tarawad.*



[1] The informant said he knew nothing about her.
[2] This family had remained at the original home of the family at Nedungothari near Palappuram.
[3] After marrying, this man and his family moved to Wallancheri near Kutipuram, Pattambi, for business reasons.
Conventional signs as in Table 3; vil. = village.

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 A Wll Kerala A Wll Kammalans
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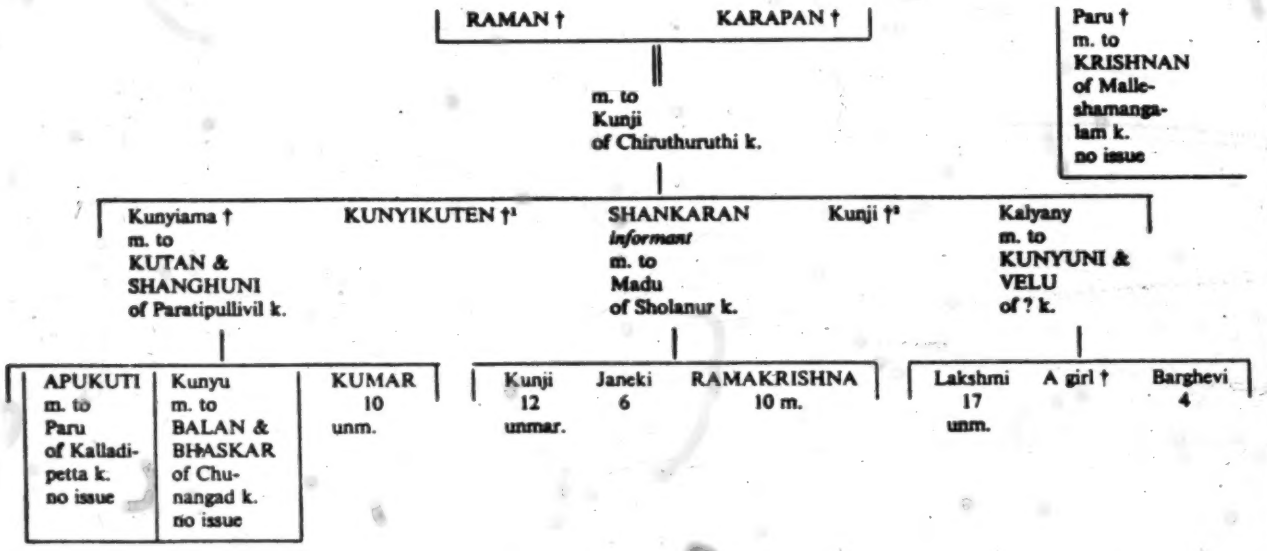
12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AW11 Kerala AW11

TABLE 15. GENEALOGY OF KALAPPURAM *Kalarikel*.



[1] Died eight years old.
[2] Died unmarried, aged thirteen.
Conventional signs as in Table 3; k. = *Kalarikel*.

595*
601

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Kolla-Kurups

The name of the household was Palappuram *Kalarikel*. Intrigued that it should have the same name as the neighbouring town, and that a new word instead of *tarawad* should be used, I enquired how this had come about. I was told that the *Kolla-kurups* did not have patrilineal clans of the usual Kerala pattern because they were too few and far apart; instead, they used the name *kalarikel*, which is that of a Nayar armoury for training soldiers, or a "gymnasium". This is in accordance with their profession as masseurs, and in order to distinguish them from each other, they qualified them with the name of the town or village in which they were situated. Otherwise, the same rules of marriage as in the rest of the artisan caste were enforced: the *kalarikels* were patrilineal and exogamous, and inheritance was *makkathayam*. There were also *kiriyams* or matrilineal descent groups in which exogamy was observed; Shankaran was even able to give me the name of his, Pal, which meant "white", he told me. I was struck by the resemblance between the *kalarikel* system of the *Kolla-kurups* and that of the "villages" of the *Musaris* whom I had encountered three days before (see p. 202). It was as though this instance of something different from the more usual *tarawads* had acted as a transition between these and the *kalarikels* of the *Kurups* today.

I made the family's genealogy, which is given here in Table 15. Shankaran had had two fathers, Raman and Karapan, both dead now, aged fifty four and forty two respectively. His mother was called Kunji, and was still alive, aged seventy. His fathers had had a sister, who died when she was thirty, called Paru and who had married a certain Krishnan of another *kalarikel*, at Malleshamangalam. There had been no issue from the marriage. Of his own generation, only he himself and his sister, Kalyany, were still alive. His eldest sister, Kunyiama, who had been married to two brothers, Kutan and Shanghuni of a *kalarikel* at Paratipullivil, had died when she was forty; her offspring included two boys, one of whom was married, and a girl, married polyandrously to two brothers, Balan and Bhaskar of Chunangad *kalarikel*. Kalyany had two husbands also, Kunyuni and Velu, but I did not manage to record these men's *kalarikel*. (I took a photograph of Kalyany standing at the entrance gate of the compound, with the paddy fields at the back, and another one of the family sitting round Kunji, the informant's twelve year old daughter, and listening to her singing a song; see Figs. 11 and 13.)

The house in which they all lived (except Kalyany who was only here on a visit to her brother, and lived elsewhere with her husbands), stood on land belonging to a *janmi* called Kollapuri Nayar. They did not pay

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Kanisans
Manans

564 614 siums" too – for what reason, I could not find out; I could see no relation between astrology and a gymnasium. Like the *Kolla-kurups*, they also had *kiriyams* which were exogamous as the *kalarikels* were; the [428] informant's matrilineal clan was called Manga. Inheritance was *makkathayam*.

* 595 ● 601 The family living in the house here, was divided into two sections. The first, of which Ramankuti was the eldest, consisted of himself and his brother, Ticheri, three years younger than him. Their father, who was now dead, had successively had two wives, Lakshmi and Kalyany, both of them still alive and living in the house; the first section was descendant from the first wife, while the other was issued from the second. Kalyany had had six children, of which, Paru, aged thirty, was the eldest; there were four brothers, Pachu, Shanghuni, Kumaran and Gopalkrishnan, and a younger daughter called Nani, aged twelve. The interesting part of the organization was that the two sections had both contracted polyandrous marriages: Ramankuti and Ticheri with one wife, Madhevi aged twenty eight: their four half brothers with Devaki, twenty three years old. Both women were from other *kalarikels*, the first from Kangal and the other from Kavalapara. They all lived in the same house, however, with Nani, only Paru having married Krishnan of Kutiparli *kalarikel* and having gone off to live with him. Paru had three children with Krishnan, as did Madhevi with the informant and his brother. The four brothers had only one little daughter, aged one year, with Devaki. The genealogy, as it was dictated to me, is given in Table 16.

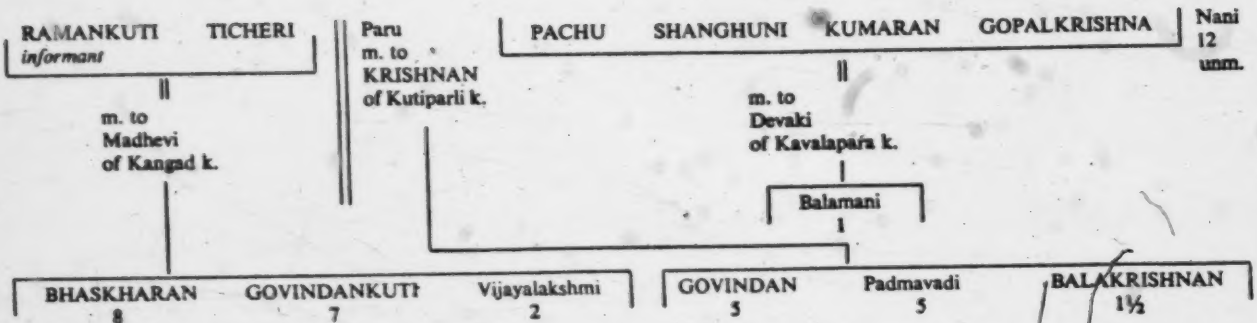
* 595 [791] Ramankuti told me that he and Pachu were the fully-fledged astrologers of the family. Kumaran and Gopalkrishnan were studying the art. Ticheri did odd jobs as a labourer, and Shanghuni was employed as a [429] workman in the local match factory. The house that they all lived in was rented on a *kudiviruppu* lease for which they paid eight annas a year to the *janmi* of the land upon which it stood, a Nambudri Brahmin called Totapai Mana Nilakanda Nambudripad.

564 [296] [305] [535] On the 22nd of November, 1949, I went to Lakkidi to visit the house of a *Manan*. These people are washermen and barbers, and they play an important role in Kerala as it is they and they alone who can wash the polluted clothes of menstruating Nambudri Brahmin and Nayar women. But they are also dancers in the temple on festive occasions.

361 351 We found the house for which we were looking, in the actual village of Lakkidi, in the vicinity of the railway station, near the river. It was a moderately large, well-to-do building, standing isolated in a large compound, in which clothes had been laid out to dry on the ground.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 210]

TABLE 16. GENEALOGY OF PELLARMANGALAM *Kalarikel.*



Conventional signs as in Table 3.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 A Wll Kerala A Wll Kanisans
595 ● 601

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Manans

It was called Onadi Paramben house, and our informant turned out to be an old lady called Kunji, now married to only one husband, Shanghuni, seventy two, but of whose three other brothers she had once upon a time been the wife also. The genealogy which I made out from what she told me, was an intricate one, and it took a lot of questioning and counterchecking to do. The genealogy is given in Table 17.

From a single, monogamous father were issued four boys and one girl. The latter, Kunji, was today sixty years old and lived, childless, with her husband, Viran, at Mangod village where he came from. The four men, Shanghuni, seventy two, Erechen, sixty five, Raman, sixty and Krishnan who had died at the age of forty five, had all been married, when young, by their father and maternal uncle to the informant, Kunji, when she was twenty five. Three daughters were born from the marriage, of which the second, Lakshmi, only lived three years.

Then Krishnan, the youngest husband, who never took to the marriage properly and was always quarrelling with his brothers, got himself another wife, also called Kunji, today aged fifty three, and with the permission of his former co-husbands, brought her home to live with them all. He was still resident there at the time of his death. He had had four children, of whom two were sons, and who were still in the house with their families. One daughter was married out, and the other, aged twenty and unmarried, lived with her brothers. The informant said that after Krishnan had left the polyandrous marriage, the first Kunji had given birth to another girl called Paru, twenty years old now and unmarried.

Ten years after they had all been married to Kunji, and therefore five years after Krishnan's defection, Erechen and Raman decided also to secede. Their reason for leaving was the same: there was too much quarrelling in the family. Together, they took Kali of Mangode village, to wife, and brought her home to live with them. Kunyimalu, a girl, was born from this new polyandrous arrangement, and she was now thirty and happily married off to Krishnan of Kutil *tarawad*.

A further split took place just a year later. Erechen and Raman could not agree in the new set-up, and Raman ran away. He took Chiru of Kalapara *tarawad* to wife and went on to live at Karimpuzha as the local washerman. He had a boy and a girl, and was doing well. His wife was still alive, and he was a grandfather five times over. After his departure from the house, Erechen and Kali had further offspring; a son, now aged twenty five and married, and a daughter now aged twenty, still unmarried. They had not stayed in the family house, but had

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWII Kerala AWII
Manans

TABLE 17. GENEALOGY OF ONADI PARAMBE

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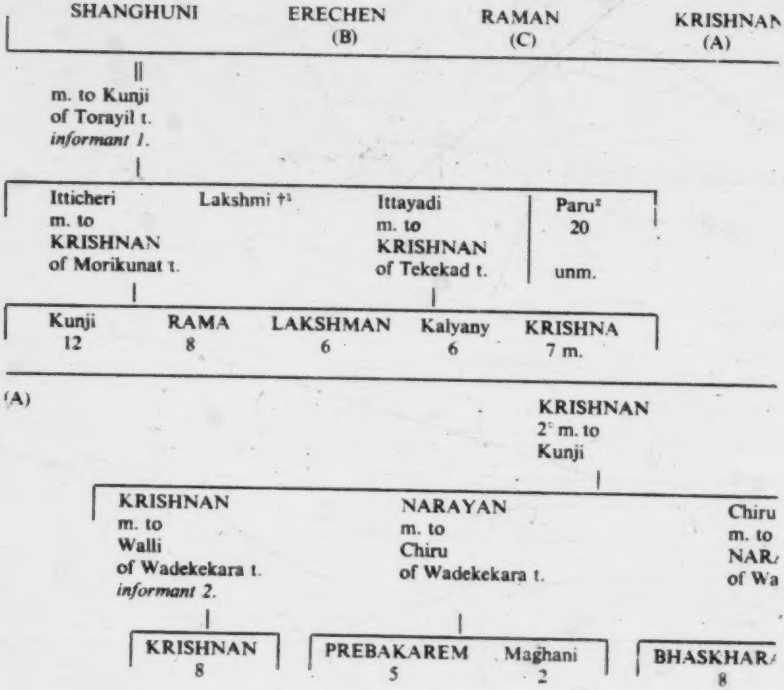

[facing P. 210 – A]

* 595
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EALOGY OF ONADI PARAMBEN HOUSEHOLD.

RAMAN (C) | KRISHNAN † (A)

Kunji
m. to
VIRAN
of Mangod
village
no issue

yadi
.o
ISHNAN
'ekekad t.

Paru[2]
20
unm.

Kalyany
6

KRISHNA
7 m.

KRISHNAN
2° m. to
Kunji

NARAYAN
n. to
Chiru
of Wadekekara t.

Chiru
m. to
NARAYANAN
of Wadekekara t.[2]

Ittiyadi
20
unmarried

AREM

Maghani
2

BHASKHARAN
8

Paru
2

RAMAN

i of Man-

ION

Lakshmi[3]
20

[facing p. 210-B]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Manans

* 595
● 601

KRISHNAN 8 | PREBAKAREM 5 | Maghani 2 | BHASKHAR 8

(B)

ERECHEN RAMAN
‖
2° m. to Kali of Mangode vil.

Kunyimalu m. to KRISHNAN of Kutil t.	KOMON m. to Lakshmi of Monegode t.	Lakshmi[5] 20
Three children[4]	Two BOYS	unmarried

(C)

RAMAN
3° m. to Chiru of Kalapara t.

SHANGHU m. to Kali of Kutil t.	Lakshmi m. to KUTTAPA of Aliparamala t.
Ittiany m. to KRISHNAN of Wettekera t.[6]	Three BOYS One girl
	all unmarried

[1] Died aged 3.
[2] Born after Shanghuni and the common wife were left alone.
[3] All brothers and sisters who married brothers and sisters.
[4] Boys or girls not specified.
[5] Komon and Lakshmi born after the departure of Raman.
[6] Divorced the following year.

Conventional signs as in Tables 3, 14 & 15.

[facing p. 210-C]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWII Kerala AWII
Manans

*595
601

AREM	Maghani	2	BHASKHARAN	Paru	2
				8	

RAMAN

i of Man-

ION	Lakshmi[5]	20
ımi of :godе t.	unmarried	
wo BOYS		

RAMAN
3° m. to Chiru of Kalapara t.

SHANGHU m. to Kali of Kutil t.	Lakshmi m. to KUTTAPA of Aliparamala t.
Ittiany m. to KRISHNAN of Wettekera t.[6]	Three BOYS One girl all unmarried

were left alone.
s and sisters.

ɛ of Raman.

[facing P. 210-D]

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Manans
Panans

first moved to Mangode village, where Kali came from, for eleven years. Today they were living at Managhat, where Erechen had found it easier to get work.

As Kunji, my aged informant, was getting tired, we now took on Krishnan, son of the late Krishnan by his second wife, Kunji (the repetition of the same names in a family in Kerala is very confusing). He helped us to check all this material and to correct some inaccuracies which had crept in. I noticed that in some cases it was impossible to obtain the name of the *tarawad*, and that the name of the village would be given instead. There were, however, no *kalarikels* with the Manans, I was told. The patrilineal clans were exogamous, as were also the matrilineal *kiriyams* of these people, although they were not very well known and practically neglected in present-day marriages. Inheritance was *makkathayam*, as expected, but I could get no confirmation of the reported four endogamous subdivisions described in the *Gazeteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, p. 130 (see Bibliography).

This Manan family was living on ground belonging to a Nambudri Brahmin *janmi* called Mangala Mana C.M.C. Narayana Nambudripad, but they did not pay him any rent. They were there more as his employees and, in exchange for dwelling space, rendered him the invaluable services which he needed from them as washermen and barbers.

In the afternoon of the same day of the 25th of November, 1949, upon which I had visited a Thandan household (see above, p. 189), I went to Palappuram to see the family of a *Panan* (exorcist and leaf umbrella maker).

They lived in a poor but neat and cleanly house, situated in a rather thickly overgrown grove of the usual Kerala vegetation. On the verandah of the modest building of dried cow-dung and mud, a bare breasted woman, Sita, aged forty five, and three boys awaited us. She received us nicely and spoke quite readily. She seemed resigned to her poverty and conditions and only complained to us that she was not able to give the boys more and proper food.

She told us that she lived with the surviving husband of a once polyandrous union, in which she had been married when she was eighteen to two brothers, Panju, who had died two years after the wedding, at twenty one, and Korappan, her present forty four year old husband. She had had a daughter, Kunji, within the first year of her marriage, and four boys afterwards with Korappan. All the children, including the twenty six year old eldest girl, were unmarried; she was still breast-feeding the youngest, two and a half year old Kumaran. This, as I

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Panans

853 could see, was obviously a way of circumventing the difficulty of adequate nourishment, something to which a great majority of the mothers in the vast multitudes of Asia habitually resort.

*595 [868] [126] Father Korappan was away working, and he had taken twelve year old Krishna with him as an apprentice, so I was not able to photograph the whole family. But I obtained a picture of Sita with Kumaran at her breast and Chami and Narayan sitting next to her, which I give here in Fig. 15. The genealogy is in Table 18.

564 614 [928] Where *tarawads* were not known, Sita gave me the name of the village. From what she told me, the clans were patrilineal, inheritance was *makkathayam*, and exogamy was the rule, also in the *kiriyams*. Her husband's matrilineal descent group was called Walleananad. The house

*595 [929] was leased as a *kudiyiruppu* for which they paid a yearly rent of twelve annas to the *janmi*, Eranur Mana Narayan Nambudripad. They had been fifteen years at this place, and had come from about a furlong away where they used to reside before. This awakened my curiosity, and I enquired how this had happened.

Sita told me that her husbands originally lived in the other house, because it was the *tarawad's* headquarters. The name Kundilpadam which it bore meant "low field", and Vellarkaden which was the name of their present house, was just the appellation by which their new dwelling was known. Her husbands' father was the youngest of a pair of brothers, and they had both taken wives to themselves and had not lived in polyandry. Their offspring, her husbands and their father's elder brother's children, had continued to live together, and they, Panju and Korappan, had married first, twenty seven years ago. Then, twelve years later, the cousins had also got married, and, in order to make place for them, Sita and her surviving husband, Korappan, being the junior members, had moved away to another residence, the one where they lived at present.

●[601] I made the genealogy of the neighbouring household as the informant gave it to me. It is shown here in Table 19. Two brothers, Panju and Raman, respectively aged forty six and forty, lived polyandrously with a common wife called Cherona, thirty three years old. They had four children, of whom none were married, since they were still too young.

361 On the 21st of November, 1949, I went to Palarmanpalam, a cluster of houses on the road between Ottappalam and the Lakkidi railway station, about a mile before the latter is reached. The object of our

564 750 971 visit was to see a *Pulluvan* household, that is of herbalists and *nag* snake worshippers, a sub-caste associated to the artisans.

[Text continues on P. 214]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Pancins

TABLE 18. GENEALOGY OF VELLARKADEN HOUSEHOLD, KUNDILPADAM *Tarawad.*

595*
601 ●

PANJU † — KORAPPAN

m. to Sita
of Porovilpalam t.
informant

Kunji	CHAMI	KRISHNA	NARAYANA	KUMARAN
26	17	12	6	2½

all unmarried

TABLE 19. GENEALOGY OF KUNDILPADAM *Tarawad* AND HOUSEHOLD.

PANJU — RAMAN

m. to Cherona
of Chepukheri v.

Kali	NARAYAN	Chiru	SRISHANMUKAN
12	10	5	2½

all unmarried

Conventional signs as in Table 3.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Pulluvans

* 595 [361] We found the house, which was a small one, in a grove of plantains, surrounded by tapioca fields. A man named Komon, aged twenty nine, met us and took us onto the neat verandah of the building which was constructed in the usual Kerala style. He told us that the name of his household was Putanpunakkil, meaning "new house", and I made out the genealogy of his family, as shown here in Table 20.

*595 ● 601 His elder brother, Raman, aged thirty three, had died recently, he said. He had had two younger sisters too, Chimdevi and Narayani, both of whom were also dead, the eldest at fifteen and the youngest at twelve. He and his elder brother had been married first polyandrously to a woman called Kalyany, for four years. Their father had found her for them, from the village of Churumudacheri. They had had a daughter by her, Ittiyadi, who was now eleven.

Kalyany, it seemed, had never really settled down in polyandry, and had always said that she did not like having two husbands. She wanted to stay alone with the eldest, Raman, but the latter did not accept. As he persisted in this attitude, in spite of her insistence that she have him all to herself, she eventually ran away, back to her parents' home, leaving the daughter with the brothers. That was seven years ago, and their father had immediately provided them with another wife, Kunji, from Manar village. She was twenty at the time, and had been married earlier, at the age of fourteen, to two brothers, Velu and Aiyappan of Tirumatankodu village. She did not get on with these two men and wanted to leave them. When Komon's father chose her for him and his brother, she left her married home, and the men, quite exceptionally, allowed her to take away the boy they had had with her, called Paramesuram and who was now aged ten. Kunji herself was now twenty seven years old and she had had three children with her new husbands, two boys and a girl. I could see that she was expecting another child shortly (in two months time, they told me).

There appeared to be no *tarawads* with these people, and village names were used instead for the patrilineal clans, which were exogamous. There were *kiriyams*, also exogamous, and inheritance was *makkathayam*. The sub-caste was reputed to allow marriage of brothers and sisters; the Gazeteer mentions this on p. 133. When I asked Komon about it, he protested that it was calumny and that they had never done such a thing. In my opinion, the reputation wrongly based on insufficient evidence, comes from the fact that these people form a very small group and those persons who are of the same generation use classificatory kinship terms which are apt to make it appear that "sister" mar-

[Text Continues on P. 216]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Pulluvans

TABLE 20. GENEALOGY OF PUTANPUNAKKIL HOUSEHOLD.

595*
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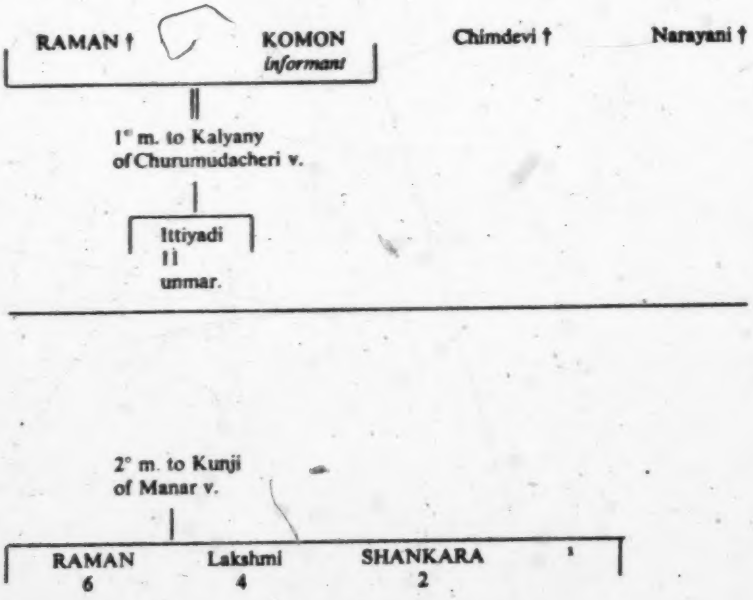

[1] Kunji was expecting seven months at the time of the visit.
Conventional signs as in Tables 3 & 14.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala AW11
Thandans

late the time back from the moment of birth; but they only laughed at my insistance and said that they could not. Obviously, the right thing to do was not to make any distinction, to accept the children as collectively theirs, without individual claims on them.

This is the public attitude which self-respecting polyandrous people must apparently take. Privately, things can be quite different, and from the information which I gathered from Panju and Nani, it is obvious that human nature reasserts itself even in this situation, in spite of cultural interdictions. Asked confidentially if he had any preference for one of his four boys, Panju replied that he believed that the two elder ones, Kumaran and Madhavan, were his because they were "more fond" of him than of Narayana. To emphasize this belief, he added that outside people thought that Sridaran and Raghavan resembled their younger father, while the other two were physically more like him. I heard, later, that Nani, in private, never in front of her husbands or even before the other children, would say to Kumaran: "Go on, be a man like your *achan* (father, the name given to Panju). He is a fine fellow whom you should take after!" There seemed to be no doubt that, behind the scenes and the facade which had to be maintained socially in this polyandrous society, a great amount of preference and distinction was shown for the individual, would-be, "real" father.

Panju claimed that he looked after the children more than his brother because he had more affection for them than Narayana. Here again, he seemed to be claiming a preferred position that could not fail to strike me. I asked him what names the children used for their fathers, and he gave me not only those for himself and his co-husband, but also (without my asking) for Raman and Sankara, who were considered to be uncles (fathers' brothers) because they were not part of the polyandrous household. Raman was called *wariachan*, "big father"; Sankara, *wawuachan*, "sickly father", because he had some kind of chronic stomach ailment (this reminded me of the "opium-eating father" in Ceylon, see p. 149); Panju, *achan*, "father"; and Narayana, *kutiachan* or "small father". In other words, even those brothers of the fathers who were no longer fathers in parental status were called "father", a classificatory term which obviously had no other reality after the break-up of the old association of all the brothers married to a common wife.

If a family has no issue, adoption of a child is possible, the latter then having exactly the same status as if it were one's own. The child has, however, to be legally registered with the authorities if it is to be an heir. Cases of such adoptions are extremely rare; my informants

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Kerala AW11

NORTH NAYAR

Anthropological investigations in Malabar have usually gone straight to the most spectacular cases: the matrilineal Nayar *taravad* of Cochin and Travancore. This tendency, though understandable, is hardly justified, since the matrilineal *taravad* achieves its greatest elaboration among the aristocratic ranks of the ruling families and can hardly be accepted as a typical feature of the landscape.

It should be clear that today there is great variation in practice among the Nayar groups in Malabar, not only from the aristocrats to the low-caste menials (who like to call themselves Nayar) but also within the same Nayar "subcastes." In an illuminating passage, Karve (1953), for example, notes how many individual Nayar feel that they should lay the foundations for a new *taravad* in their sister's name as soon as they can afford to do so, for a named matrilineal *taravad* is clearly an important aspect of status for Nayar men. Gough (1952*a*) has used a historical model to deal with the variations. She argues, in effect, that the past was orderly and the present is confused. Theory and practice were harmonious in the past but are now breaking down. The tempo of new developments, political, economic, social, can hardly be denied, but we can suggest that the past idealized by Gough may well have been as diverse (in terms of the structure of matrilineal *taravad*) as the present. It is likely that there always were nascent, medium-sized, and fully developed *taravad* based on the same principles.

We shall examine the aristocratic Nayar lineages in a moment. In North Malabar, the *taravad* is significantly different from the region around the Cochin kingdoms. In the North, there was apparently less political centralization and a relatively limited development of subcategories of Nayar castes with special duties. Most of the Nayar were called Nambiar and were small landowners who lived in villages. They recognized dispersed matrilineal clans, and the property group in the locality was regarded as a segment of such a clan.

At marriage the girl moved to the household of her husband, but she returned temporarily to her natal household to bear her children (a custom still followed among the Sinhalese). The children when grown went to their MB; the males stayed with the MB as members of matri-lines and the females were married off from that house.

Here, clearly, are the complex claims on the sister and her children. I need hardly point out that all aspects of the general structure are to be seen in their organization. First, the usual Dravidian terminology was used for reference (Schneider and Gough, 1961, p. 404). A clear distinction was made between the categories for reference and the

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Kerala AW11

601 terms of address. Related to this Dravidian terminology we find, as [605] might be expected, that all parallel cousins on both sides are forbid- [582] den as sexual partners and consequently there is categorical cross- 602 cousin marriage (p. 397). We are not given any details regarding the circle of kin which we have called the micro-caste, for Gough is again more concerned with "lineages." However, it is quite clear that all the [171] kinship customs, especially the obligations between the various categories of kin, appear very similar to the Sinhalese.

601 The categories of the terminology are widely extended and rela- 602 tions with paternal kin are formally defined. The son, for instance, [769] must make annual offerings to his dead father's spirit. "Paternal kin are known and accorded kinship terms within a range of three to five generations" (Gough, 1955*a*, p. 55). The father's sister's son was considered to have special claims on the girl (Schneider and Gough, 1961, p. 398).

602 It is noteworthy that with the residence pattern in which men live 591 on lineage land with their MB, it is precisely the rights of the paternal kin that are emphasized in customary rituals. Thus paternal kin have an important place in all *rites de passage:* first pregnancy, naming, first rice feeding, *tali*-tying, marriage, first menstruation, and death. [553] At the naming ceremony, for instance, the infant's father's mother [431] chooses the name, the father's father confers it, and the father gives a gold gift (Schneider and Gough, 1961, p. 401).

[171] These rights and obligations are of interest in contrast to the Sinhalese, where residence tends to be patrilocal and where it is, in fact, the claims of the maternal kin that are given the most prominence in the various life-cycle ceremonies.

602 We should observe that even the joking relationship, which is an 605 interesting feature of the Sinhalese cross-cousin relationship, is dupli- 171 cated in North Malabar: "Male and female cross cousins had a joking relationship with implicit sexual privileges." And, of course, marriage was initiated with the "gift of the cloth."

582 So far as the general structure is concerned, there is little doubt as 121 to where we are. However, we are not given much information regard [114] ing endogamy and hypergamy. Gough notes only incidentally that [611] "ordinary" Nambiars . . . married exclusively with each other" (1955*a*, p. 56), which suggests kin group endogamy with a likely diminution of unilineal descent ideology in such groups. Gough elsewhere [613] also observes in passing that there were "hypergamous marriages in aristocratic lineages" (1961, p. 400), which conforms to the idea expressed above. Since the pattern can be seen with greater clarity in the evidence regarding the Cochin aristocrats, I refrain from discussing the question of hypergamy here.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Kerala AW11

564 here turns out to be patrilineal and patrilocal. We shall see that, as
611 usual, the question of descent is attached to the same general struc-
[591] tures as elsewhere.

613 We first note that the "patrilineage" of the South is called a *taravad* like the matrilineal units of the Nayar. The patrilineage is reported to be exogamous with a depth of five to seven generations united by the
595 worship of lineage gods, ancestors, and snakes. Marriage tends to be
[591] patrilocal, and one of the interesting features of the Tiyyar of this
[171] area is that, as with the Sinhalese, polyandrous marriages are freely permitted. A woman is married to a group of brothers who have access
585 to her, it is said, by order of seniority. The ceremony of marriage
171 again involves the gift of the cloth, and we note the custom of feeding the groom or grooms and the bride with porridge and milk as with various groups in Ceylon.

593 Inheritance is in the male line, but women retain rights in their
[428] natal household. Indeed, this right is expressed in the customary rela-
[586] tions between brothers and sisters. At divorce, the woman returns to her brother. Her eldest brother is considered her guardian. At the
[765] death of a married woman, her brothers and their children observe
[783] ritual pollution. At the death of a man, his sister's sons observe pollution and perform mourning offerings to his spirit.

604 The customary claim of the MB and the FZ are given recognition in
588 numerous ceremonies. In the prepuberty rituals, a girl goes through
[613] a mock-marriage ceremony with a boy from a "lineage" into which
[605] she might marry, who clearly stands to her in the relation of cross-cousin. Her "mother's brother's wife" (FZ?) parts her hair in certain pregnancy ceremonies. The ritual husband-boy is brought by his MB, and the girl by her MB. The boy places the *tali* necklace—indicative of married status—on her neck, where it is tied by her FZ.

582 Gough notes that cross-cousin marriage is "preferential," though
605 with the observation that it is not "enjoined to the extent" that it is
114 in the North (1955*a*, p. 62). It is clear that this statement refers to actual cross-cousin, not categorical cross-cousin, marriage. We are informed that parallel cousins on both sides are tabooed and must conclude that here again we have the Dravidian pattern of categorical cross-cousin marriage.

• 601 I have no information about the terminology of reference or address,
576 though it seems likely that terms of reference, at least, are identical to those of the North Tiyyar.

121 I think that all the elements of the general structure can be detected
602 in this system. There is categorical cross-cousin marriage, and the various claims of the MB and FZ upon Ego are indicated in ritual terms. This is quite in accordance, as we noted before, with the strong

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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Let us now return to the facts:

The Nayar family in Cochin and South Malabar (also referred to as Central Kerala) is also organized on the principles of the matrilineal *taravad*. Among ordinary people, matrilineal groups beyond the household are barely recognized for most intents and purposes, but among the wealthy and aristocratic classes, the *taravad* finds an impressive elaboration. Gough presents the ideal model as a matrilineal clan with localized matri-lines all of which are exogamous. The women have equal or hypergamous connections with men of other *taravad* or castes, whereas the men visit women of lower *taravad*. The residential pattern is that brothers and sisters live in the same household and men visit their "wives" in their own households. This contrasts with the North Nayar picture in which women join their husbands in their houses, and with the Mapilla picture (their Muslim neighbors) in which the men join their wives in the houses as in Ceylon. Of course, in a climate and region where houses are easily built and where the kin of both the husband and the wife are quite likely to be in the near vicinity of the married couple, if not in the same community, these residential arrangements may be looked upon primarily as symbolic statements of "difference" rather than fundamental differences in kinship systems and sentiments.

We may now raise further questions:

First: to what extent does our previous discussion of the general structure help us to understand the Nayar situation? A careful examination of the data makes it clear that the Nayar family in Cochin and South Malabar presents a further elaboration upon the Dravidian theme. It should be emphasized that this is hardly the impression one would have received from the earlier work of Gough. It is curious to observe, as Dumont (1961*a*) does, to what extent Gough's picture of the Nayar situation has progressively altered from one in which there were matrilineages with hardly any recognition of the role of the *pater*, to one in which the father and his kin are recognized and "preferential" cross-cousin marriage is at least observed. The change in point of view is a sobering thought as far as "objective" anthropology is concerned: for a perusal of the writings of this highly observant and careful author shows that she is using an African model (including concepts of clanship and ties of ritual collaboration) in her earlier work. It is only very gradually that she comes around to consider her material in its context in South India.

As far as we can observe, the kin terminology of the high-caste Nayar of Cochin and South Malabar is structurally identical to that of North Malabar and hence to the Dravidian terminology of cross-cousin marriage, with one significant difference: there appears to be no term for actual cross-cousins. It is true that Gough does not provide

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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a consistent terminology of reference—which is important in South India and Ceylon—but since the language and indeed all the rest of the terms themselves are identical to those of North Malabar, the lack of terms precisely for cross-cousins may be significant. The matter is all the more curious since such terms as, for example, *maru mahan* (son "by marriage"!)[9] which Ego uses for ZS in the same *taravad* and which reciprocates with MB (*mama*) also carry the implication "son-in-law" and "father-in-law."

However we may wish to interpret this intriguing lacuna (could it be an aspect of Nambudiri–Nayar hypergamy?), it appears that there is, first, a prohibition on sexual and marital connections with parallel cousins and also a "preference" for cross-cousin marriage. Both rules are clearly present, though they do not carry the categorical implication which is attached to them elsewhere.

Gough's account of this matter is not very clear. She notes first (1961, p. 365): "Bilateral cross-cousin marriage was freely permitted, with some preference for marriage to the mother's brother's daughter or step-daughter." A little further on she notes the "preference" in passing: "It may seem strange that preferred cross-cousin marriage should have existed side by side with group marriage, for cross-cousin marriage . . . suggests an interest in prolonging the ties brought about both by paternity and by matrilineal kinship."

It seems to me that even in her most recent publication Gough is trying to minimize the role of paternity among the Nayar when the facts are palpably otherwise. She notes, "Many men, presumably, entered marriage relations with cross-cousins only incidentally—often, presumably, without being fully aware of the blood relationship" (1961, p. 365)—a presumption which seems extremely unlikely even in the Malabar conditions she describes.

We should perhaps stress that Gough's data suggest much closer similarities to a South Indian pattern than her theoretical framework permits. Consider the customary relations between cross-cousins: "Cross-cousins of the same sex and caste had a familiar, mildly joking relationship if they maintained contact . . . cross-cousins of the opposite sex might talk to each other with rather more freedom than to unrelated persons. In his role of enangan a boy sometimes tied the tali for his maternal uncle's daughter . . ." (1961, pp. 364–365).

We should note this last sentence particularly: the role of *enangan* as a cross-cousin and hence a perpetual affine on the Dravidian pattern is a new development in the work of Gough. It confirms our impression that even in Cochin where the *taravad* reaches its greatest development, a version of the general structure is still visible. The question of "perpetual affinity" has been discussed extensively by Dumont

[9] See the discussions of *maru* by Karve (1953, p. 213) and by Dumont (1957a).

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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are perpetuated as indices of status—to the extent, indeed, that with the matrilineal Thangal group, who also claim patrilineal descent from the Prophet, an elaborate combination of patronymics and matronymics has been developed (1959, p. 501).

CONCLUSION

In view of the great number of communities that have remained untouched, the evidence considered in detail may seem to offer only a very narrow theoretical base. This is not so. We have attempted to show that the general structural model may be connected to a great variety of descent patterns. Only a few cases would be sufficient to demonstrate the point. We have found many more. We have also noted the interesting balance in the customary recognition given to the formal claims of the paternal and maternal relatives upon the children of the marriage. In structures such as the Tanjore Brahman, where the father-son relationship is assured by common residence and inheritance, it is precisely the rights of the MB which are elaborated at all *rites de passage*, and the ZS has formal obligations at this man's funeral.

In the matrilineal structure of Malabar and Ceylon we find in contrast that the great proliferation of ceremonial is concerned with the rights and obligations of the father. Quite apart from the entire complex of *Tali kettu kalyanam* in Malabar, we may note that the obligations of the son at this father's funeral receive special emphasis, particularly among the Nayar. As Fawcett notes in connection with Nayar funerals: "The deceased's younger brother, or, if there is none surviving, his nephew (his sister's eldest son) sets fire to the pyre at the head of the corpse. If the deceased left a son, this son sets fire at the same time to the pyre at the foot of the corpse" (Thurston, 1906, p. 209). At this most solemn occasion the Nayar and the Kandyan Sinhalese agree on balancing the obligations of the offspring of brother and sister, for with the Sinhalese, too, the ZS as well as the son must partake in the final rites of a man.

There is always the emphasis on the connections between the children of the brother and the sister. Brother and sister must be separated, but their offspring must also be united. Dumont writes of the double principles of consanguinity and affinity, but it seems that the two must be intermeshed to protect and perpetuate the purity of the family. Perhaps this is an aspect of the union of those divine creative principles which one hears so much about in Indian philosophy: male and female, man and wife, the Brahman Lord and his consort, Shiva and Shakti. These are two, but they are also one.

Even the terminology of kinship exemplifies the idea of the union

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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of the two principles in one. Thus, such terms as *massina* (Sinh. and Tamil) and its variants *maittunan* or *maccinan* (Tamil) and *maiduna* (Kannada), all of which carry the implication of cross-cousins who are expected to unite, appear to be derived from the Sanskrit *maiduna* or *mithuna* which also refers to the sexual intercourse between the god Shiva and the goddess Shakti, who are both one and two.[10] The depiction of them in the very act of union (*mithuna*) is one of the intriguing motifs in Indian religious sculpture, a form of art which in its formal beauty and religious expressiveness is almost unmatched.

These ideas are not intended to be mysterious. They are simply the logical implications of caste principles carried to their very limit in the highest caste. There should be no doubt at all that Indian thinkers, great logicians and great mystics, should have been concerned with the ultimate origin of purity.[11]

A conception such as this, the union of man and wife, who are also the children of a brother and sister, allows us to observe the principle of *jati* ("caste," but also birth, category) from the inside. The narrowest circle is the individual. Then the couple, ideally cross-cousins. Then the small circle of kin who intermarry with one another. And going on from this, wider and wider concentric circles and the more inclusive categories of caste. The patterns of North India are likely to be different, but the principles of caste endogamy are intimately related to the family in South India and Ceylon.

Our itinerary has now been completed. We started from a mountain village in Ceylon and widening our investigations have ended up in South India. Behind the great differences in thought and behavior, we have found that the general principles of kinship appear to have considerable uniformity in this region. Ostensibly, kinship systems can be classified as matrilineal, patrilineal, hypergamous, and bilateral in Ceylon: a rapid journey through the Tamil-speaking parts, the Nilgiri Hills, and the Malabar coast has made us aware that a similar classification is possible in South India. But all these variations appear to exist within the framework of principles common to all the groups we have considered.

It is to be hoped that it will be possible in the future to carry the work farther north in order to learn whether South Indian structures are transformed into North Indian structures. In the realm of kin structure in South India and Ceylon, we appear to be dealing with

[10] On the etymology of the terms see Karve (1953), p. 209.

[11] It seems possible that one of the simplest and most frequent ritual acts in Ceylon and South India—the splitting of a coconut into two and allowing the liquid inside to run out—may be a part of *mithuna* symbolism. For the coconut has a *male* and a *female* end: in the act the male and the female are split. This is an idea of wide prevalence in Ceylonese ritual; see Yalman (1966).